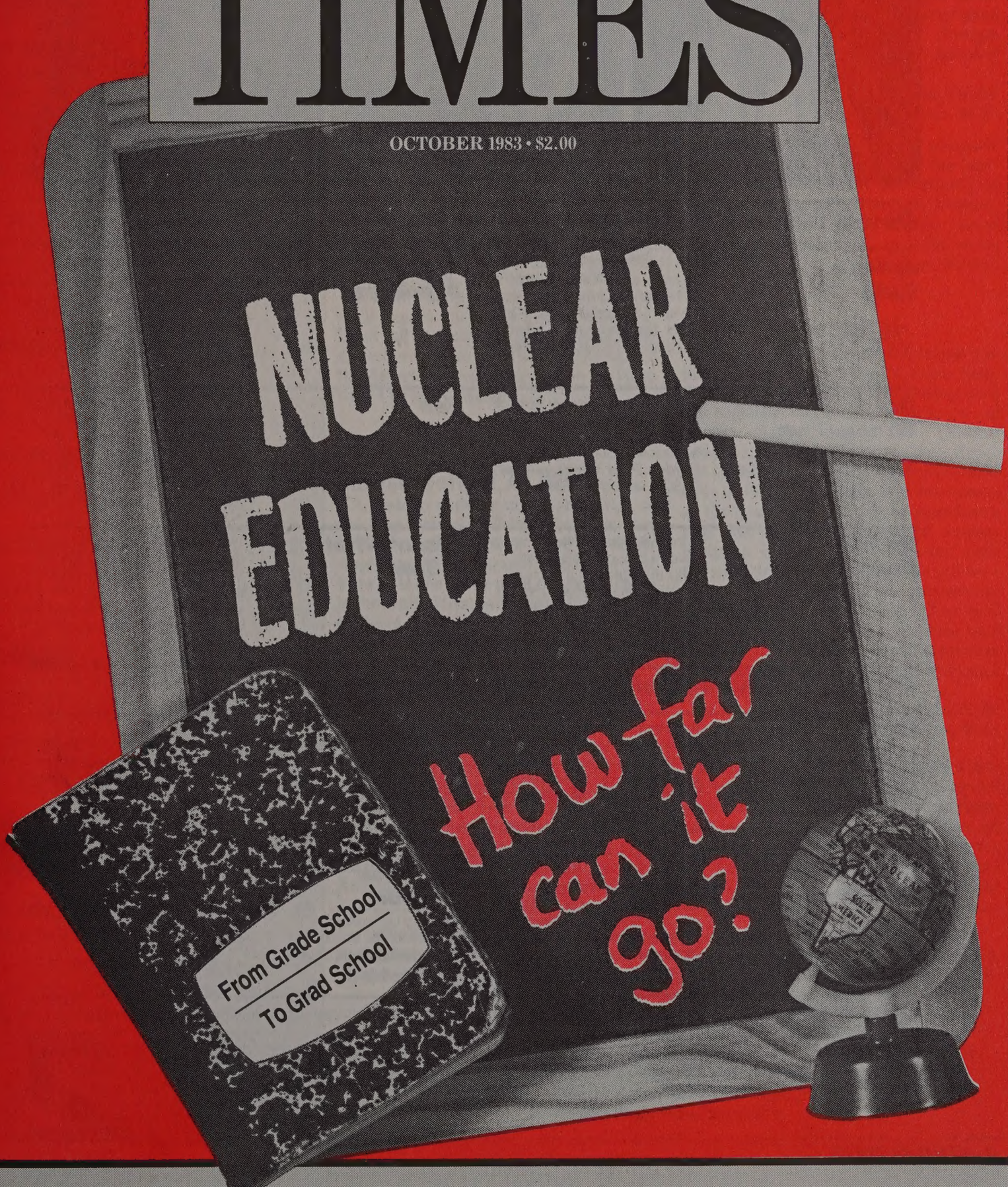
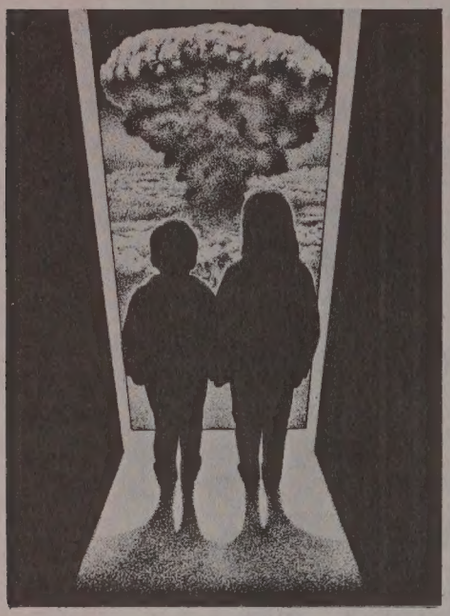
Euromissile Protests: Hot Autumn Ahead

•NUCLEAR• TIMES

OCTOBER 1983 • $2.00



Nuclear Issues Films & Video



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Film clips from newsreels, training films, and TV shows, which related to how Americans perceived "The Bomb" in the 40s & 50s, are combined in a telling and often ironic juxtaposition.

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Or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb
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After a computer error launches an irreversible nuclear attack on Russia by SAC, the heads of each government struggle to save the world from annihilation. Stars Walter Matthau and Henry Fonda.

On The Beach
In this adaption of Nevil Shute's novel, a group of Australians await the effects of a nuclear war that has destroyed the rest of the world. Stars Gregory Peck, Ava Gardner, and Fred Astaire.

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Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, Ronnie Gilbert and Fred Hellerman, formerly The Weavers, reminisce while preparing for their 1980 reunion at Carnegie Hall. Interviews and music combine for a telling history.

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Dr. Helen Caldicott on Nuclear War
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Best Short Documentary
In a campus talk, Dr. Helen Caldicott, clearly emphasizes the medical perils of nuclear war and reveals a frightening progression of events which would follow a nuclear attack.
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National Film Board of Canada

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Growing Up in the Shadow of the Bomb
Narrated by Martin Sheen
Martin Sheen's narration recreates the chilling effects of a child growing up in the 50s. Vintage film clips show nuclear attack as being survivable.
29 minutes 16mm Color

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TIMES

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VOLUME II, NUMBER 1

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LETTERS

Gorky Park

Congratulations on "Trust-Busting American Style" [Aug-Sept '83]: Finally a clear-headed statement of facts by someone who knows what she is talking about instead of the pap our press prints to sell papers and sustain prejudices. The most important article you have printed so far, a premise for peace.

—Rachael Perkins
San Francisco, Cal.

I was happy to see the article "Trust-Busting American Style." Promoting Enduring Peace organized a peace demonstration in Gorky Park in Moscow on July 18, 1983. Naturally, it was not reported in the United States. Since there were 154 Americans there plus several thousand Russians and the slogans were identical with the ones we had June 12, 1982—I was at both rallies—I would like some report from you. Incidentally, the demonstration was reported on television in Moscow and Great Britain.

I trust that you will attempt to honestly report on Soviet peace activities. Don't tell us about the difficulties of some dissenter (who is generally incoherent or the Americans reporting on him are) who wants to trust Reagan.

—Louis Kanter
Huntington, N.Y.

Danger: Falwell At Work

I wish to express my appreciation of the way Robert Friedman took on that horrible Jerry Falwell [Media Watch, Aug-Sept '83]. I happen to believe that Falwell is one of the most dangerous men in the United States despite his following of Moral Majority people who apparently don't know any better. About time they found out!

—Walter B. Smalley
Washington, D.C.

Wretched Excess

Your "Early Warning" (Aug-Sept '83) about the Pentagon considering removal of nuclear issues from the political environment and placing them in "the professional arena" so as to undercut the anti-nuclear movement is borne out by Anthony Ramirez's *Los Angeles Times'* news service story (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 7). He says "some military and financial analysts . . . are beginning to worry about what they see as excessive secrecy . . . [about] defense-weapons projects."

—David Eldredge
West Chester, Pa.

If I Had A Song

I think that your readers might be interested, as a follow-up to your July issue ("The Arts of Protest"), that through *Sing Out* magazine many other sources of [peace] songs can be located.

—Pete Seeger
Beacon, N.Y.

(Sing Out's "*Song Index*", *a complete listing of 2000 songs printed in the leading folk music magazine, is available for $2 from* Sing Out, *PO Box 1071, Easton, PA 18042. Back copies of the issues which contain the songs, or photo copies of just the songs, can then be ordered from* Sing Out.—Eds.)

Bodies Versus Ballots

It is good that in your July issue you juxtapose the article by Norman Solomon and Ada Sanchez advocating civil disobedience with the interview of Randy Kehler advocating political action. If the example of the civil rights movement is a guide, *both* are necessary. Only a President electorally dependent on the peace vote is likely to negotiate a real freeze and reduction of nuclear weapons. But he will do this—and push the resulting treaty through Congress—against the pressure of the military-industrial complex only if nonviolent civil disobedience actions keep the issue high in the public consciousness and prevent public acceptance of half-measures (such as, in my opinion, SALT II).

—H. Edward Price, Jr.
Silva, N.C.

So Randy Kehler does not "know a better method" for the disarmament movement than to rely upon institutional channels and conventional politics? Can he forget so quickly? In the first two years the freeze met with its greatest successes, not because it relied on the politi-

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—Herbert F. York

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by SIDNEY D. DRELL

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Andrei Sakharov

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cians, but because it appealed directly to the American people. Now when it is vitally important to deepen the public understanding of the nuclear arms race and nuclear "deterrence," and to help the public sort out the phony issues such as "trust" for the Russians (of course we shouldn't) from the folly of nuclear overkill, the freeze switches gears and focuses on Washington, D.C.

Why is the freeze so silent on the issue of no-first-use of nuclear weapons? This is not even a unilateral issue anymore. The Russians have made just such a declaration several months ago. It is an issue as simple as the notion of a freeze, and it could significantly strengthen the antinuclear reflex and consciousness of the American people if taken out broadly in the same manner as the original freeze resolution. If it could be placed on the ballot in 1984 it would assure a campaign focus on the arms race.

If the freeze leaders look at no-first-use as just a paper declaration and not as an opportunity to educate ourselves and the American people, then they are lacking in imagination.

—Howard J. Friedman
Chicago, Ill.

Rees Strikes Again

A copy of the January 1983 *Nuclear Times* has recently been given to me in which the "Early Warnings" section carries a brief "Rees Strikes Again." It is untrue that the Council for a Livable World has been characterized by me "as being a Soviet front" . . . . In my opinion the Council for a Livable World has supported a number of Soviet initiatives in the areas of disarmament and the advisability of U.S. non-intervention against Soviet aggression. However, the liberals who make up the Council's leadership are, you will agree, not really Komisar material!

And, by the way, what is this "unsubstantiated information," provided by me to John Barron in *KGB Today-The Hidden Hand*? He, as I do, uses facts. Try it—you'll like it!

—John Rees
Baltimore, Md.

(We never alleged that Rees characterized the Council as a "Soviet front." Our story concerned the mischief caused by a "highly-placed" Washington figure who wrote a letter to the Christian Science Monitor *charging that the Council was a Soviet front (and naming one of Rees' publications,* Western Goals Report, *as the source for this charge). Rees' "substantiated" facts, incidentally, have led him to charge (for example) that "there is ample evidence of Soviet coordination of the European and North American disarmament campaigns . . . ."* —Eds.)

•EARLY WARNINGS•

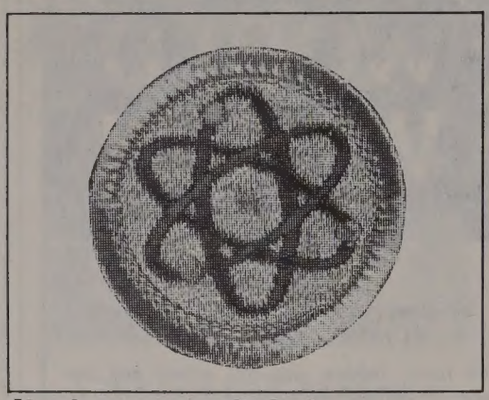
INSIDE THE LOOKING GLASS: It's one hour before the outbreak of nuclear war. We're inside the Strategic Air Command's "Looking Glass" command plane. It is from here that the war will be "fought" if SAC headquarters on the ground is wiped out. And it is this scene that will serve as the starting point for a new feature movie to be made by IPC Films, Jane Fonda's production company.

Based on *Trinity's Child*, a novel (to be published in October by G.P. Putnam's Sons) by *Washington Post* reporter Bill Prochnau, the film, says Susan Lyne of IPC Films, "will concentrate on the people who have been planning for nuclear war for over 20 years and have never expected it to happen." And the movie will take us into the war.

Will this be *The China Syndrome* of the antinuclear weapons movement? Well, there is one difference, notes Lyne: "In *The China Syndrome* the disaster never really happened. Here it does." Production of the film should begin this winter, says Lyne, and the earliest release date will be some time toward the end of 1984. Unlike *The China Syndrome*, Fonda will not appear in this film. "There was no role for Jane," says Lyne. The cast is largely male.

SCOUTS HONOR THE ATOM: The Boy Scouts of America, with assistance from the Atomic Energy Commission, first established an Atomic Energy merit badge in 1965. AEC Chairman Glenn Seaborg personally presented a scout with one of the first badges awarded. A lot has changed in the past 18 years but the BSA is still awarding the badges—badly misleading its troops in the process.

The BSA's *Atomic Energy* merit badge booklet, available to the more than one million scouts, was last reprinted in 1981 but contains much dated and incorrect information. It echoes the "Atoms for Peace" sentiment that was popular in the 1950s and 1960s: there are two atoms—one is peaceful, the other destructive. It fails to discuss proliferation or any of the other links between nuclear energy and weapons. The booklet does inform scouts that radioactive fallout from a nuclear explosion "could cause injury to people depending on how much exposure takes place." But it suggests



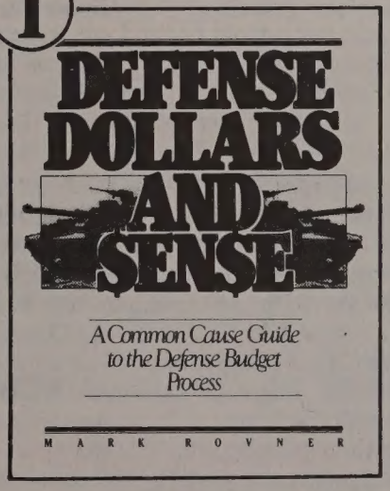
Atomic energy merits badge

scouts follow "good health-physics rules" and claims "it is possible to design a shelter that will give the amount of protection needed . . . ." In the booklet's five-page historical outline it notes that the first atomic bomb used in warfare "fell"—not "was dropped"—on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. There is no mention of Nagasaki.

WHAT'S GOOD FOR GE: If all goes as planned, sales of consumer products made by General Electric should drop in Seattle, Washington, beginning Novem-

THREE FUNDAMENTAL TOOLS TO BUILD *YOUR* SKILLS AS A NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL ACTIVIST

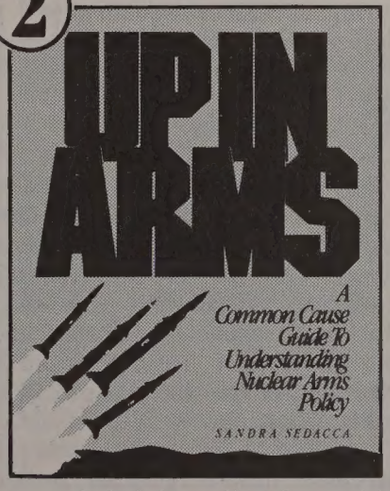
1



...provides an essential demystification of the defense budget—how it is made, what it contains, and how it can be controlled. Real national security planning requires [such] popular understanding.

—Gordon Adams
Director, Defense Budget Project

2



...very helpful reading for a citizen who is concerned [about] nuclear weapons, nuclear doctrine and nuclear arms control, particularly if he or she wants to do something about them.

—Lawrence D. Weiler
former Counselor of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, member of the U.S. SALT I delegation

3

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ber 1. A citywide boycott is being organized by the Northwest Nuclear Xchange, which, in a statement, terms purely educational and political action "insufficient." Some peace activists in the labor movement say boycotts alienate workers from the antinuclear cause. But Nuclear Xchange hopes the action will put a dent in GE's profits, sending the arms manufacturer a warning in strong economic terms.

GE, says Jack Straw, a Nuclear Xchange spokesman, is representative of the role industry plays in the nuclear buildup. GE last year had $3.7 billion in military contracts; its nuclear products line includes warhead components for Pershing and cruise missiles, guidance systems for various missiles and nuclear reactors for submarines. Straw also asserts that GE keeps constant pressure on Congress to increase military spending.

If the GE boycott is successful, Straw says, other arms makers will be added to the list. "The Seattle boycott of GE is just a start," he adds. "Success in Seattle will encourage other towns to start boycotts of their own, which would hopefully develop into a nationwide network." Across the country in St. Petersburg, Florida, the Immanuel House has been boycotting GE since July. The Florida action specifically targets the renewal of GE's contract to operate the nearby Pinnellas plant, which manufacturers fissile triggers for nuclear bombs.

HIS LIPS ARE SEALED: One thing accomplished by the peace campers at the Seneca Army Depot in upstate New York was bringing attention to the base, which campers believe is a major storage site for nuclear weapons. As a matter of policy the government refuses to confirm or deny the presence of nuclear weapons at any site. But after one civil disobedience action in August, New York Governor Mario Cuomo announced he had a "moral obligation" to find out what types of weapons are stored there. "We have a moral right to know," he declared.

And several weeks later Cuomo got what he wanted—a briefing with Richard Wagner, assistant to the secretary of defense for atomic energy. During the meeting, the Governor was told whether nuclear weapons are stored at the depot. And now will the public's right to know be fulfilled? No, says Cuomo aide, Betsy Weiss. "National security reasons prevent him from saying so," she explains.

Meanwhile, the peace camp is scheduled to close soon but a small group of women plan to winterize the house that stands on the campsite and stay throughout the winter.

CHURCH & STATE: The Reverend Carl Lundborg's reasons for not paying half of his federal taxes for the past two years are similar to those of thousands of war-tax resisters across the country: conscientious objection to the military buildup. The 43-year-old minister of the First & Summerfield United Methodist Church in New Haven, Connecticut, says, "I feel a conflict between my religious obligations and my obligations as a citizen." But unlike many other cases of tax resistance, Lundborg's stand is having repercussions beyond his private life.

Shortly after this year's income tax filing date, the Internal Revenue Service began an investigation of Lundborg that ended with an order to the church to withhold the minister's salary until he paid his back taxes. After discussing the matter, the 270 church members voted

Blips

Having already produced two popular mass-market paperbacks on the issues of nuclear war and what-about-the-Russians, **Ground Zero** is at work on a third—a citizens' guide to nuclear war and the 1984 elections, due out in January •••• **Tom Osborne**, coach of college football powerhouse Nebraska Cornhuskers, who came out publicly in favor of the freeze last fall, and got a lot of grief for it, has been silent this year, according to a freeze spokesman in Nebraska •••• Now it looks like the ABC made-for-television film about a nuclear attack on Kansas City, **The Day After**, will be aired on November 20, and movement groups continue to plan ways to "use" the film. One group, **The Day Before**, in Berkeley, California, will place ads in local newspapers inviting people to post-film meetings to discuss their reactions to the movie •••• World chess champion **Anatoly Karpov** has become chairman of the board of the Soviet Union's official Peace Fund •••• In a welcome innovation, **SANE** has started publishing a newsletter, written in Spanish, aimed at the Hispanic community •••• The **United Nations'** annual Disarmament Week takes place this year starting on October 24 •••• Borrowing a term from (of all people) Lenin, **Richard Nixon**, in his new self-published book, **Real Peace**, refers to antinuclear activists as "the useful idiots" who "earnestly plug ridiculously simplistic answers to our most complex problems" •••• **Common Cause**/Florida and the **Green Earth Peace Campaign** are asking people throughout the world to wear something green on the last day of every month until the arms race comes to a halt ••••

BY ROBERT DEL TREDICI

Views From The Nuclear World (1)

IGLOOS, Amarillo, Texas: These cubicles, known as "igloos," house nuclear weapons components assembled at the Pantex Plant near Amarillo. Some of the igloos contain completed nuclear warheads and some hold conventional explosives used to trigger atomic blasts. This is one of a series of photographs taken by Robert Del Tredici, a writer and photographer who has been traveling widely, compiling material for a work-in-progress called *Views from the Nuclear World.* In an effort to "make culturally visible the impact of the bomb on our civilization," Del Tredici has visited rarely-seen nuclear weapons plants, laboratories and test sites. NUCLEAR TIMES will present a number of his photographs in the months ahead.

not to come between their pastor and his conscience. From there the matter was transferred to the enforcement arm of the IRS. The district director in Hartford, Connecticut, will now decide whether and how to prosecute.

In anticipation of a legal battle, those who attended the New York Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church voted to begin a "conscience fund" to raise money for the church's legal expenses. Lundborg says that the conscience fund, as well as his parishoners' backing, is a show of support for the protection of the right of conscientious objection, and not necessarily for the particular politics of the case. "At this point," says Lundborg, "the real pressure is on the church, not me."

IS THERE A WOMAN IN THE HOUSE?: When some antinuclear activists in the Bay Area saw the program for a Physicians for Social Responsibility conference, "Prescription for Prevention," to be held at Stanford University on October 7 and 8, they were a bit upset. Out of a list of 26 speakers, only one was a woman, and that was Helen Caldicott, the outgoing president of PSR.

"We're upset about it too," says Gary Lapid, director of PSR-Stanford, which is organizing the conference. "This was not done out of a lack of consciousness." PSR-Stanford, he maintains, invited such prominent women as Noble Peace Prize-winner Alva Myrdal, author Barbara Tuchman, and former Representative Shirley Chisholm. But most couldn't make it, and those who did agree to appear eventually canceled.

This conference is the first in a new breed of PSR programs, aimed at exploring psychological and diplomatic measures to reverse the arms race. "This is the second wave," says Lapid, explaining it is designed as a follow-up to PSR's conference on the medical consequences of nuclear war.

DUCK . . . AND COVER: Al Hamburg received a $100 fine on August 26 for quacking in public in Torrington, Wyoming. It seems Hamburg, a veteran of both the Korean and Vietnam wars, knows the difference between a "Peacekeeper" and an MX missile. When Air Force representatives came to Torrington to talk to local residents about the 100 MX missiles the Air Force plans to deploy nearby, Hamburg got a little upset when they kept calling 3.5 megatons of destruction a "Peacekeeper" (President Reagan's name for the missile). And so, he quacked.

Hamburg, a fifty-year-old house

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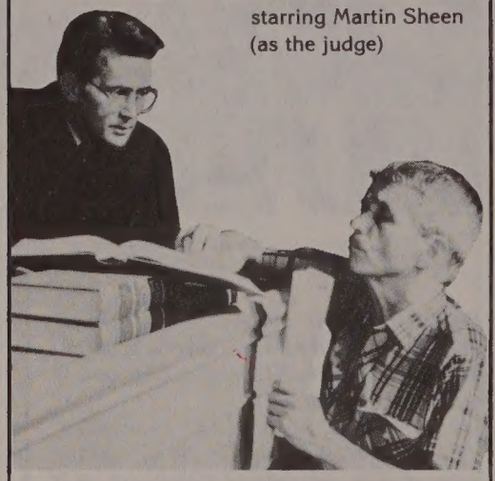

Father Daniel Berrigan (himself)

With the Plowshares 8

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Philip Berrigan	Dean Hammer
Sister Anne Montgomery	Molly Rush
Father Carl Kabat	John Schuchardt

music by Jackson Browne

. . . bold, innovative and chillingly informative re-enactment of the trial of the "Ploughshares 8"
— Toronto Sun

90 minutes of struggling humanity, sincerity and commitment
— Phila Daily News

I could not not do what I did.
— Father Daniel Berrigan

. . . it is really addressing the complex issues of civil disobedience, the lessons of the Nuremberg Trials, and the social responsibilities of an informed citizenry to deal with the nuclear arms race. . . it is the most thought provoking film I've seen. . .
— John Dowling, Bulletin of Atomic Scientists

People here talk about the premier as being a decisive moment in the local disarmament struggle.
— Neil Sieling, Minneapolis

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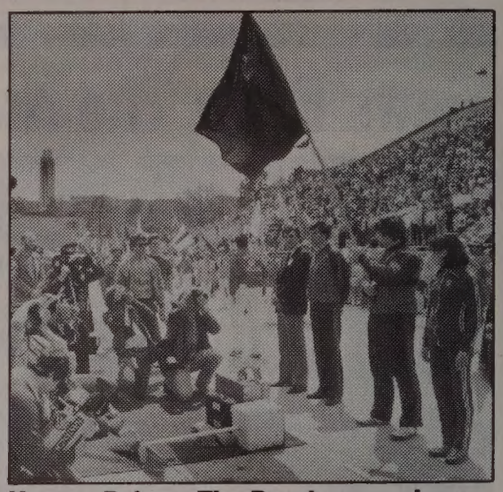
painter and member of Combat Veterans Against the MX, says he asked the Air Force "not to use the word 'Peacekeeper,' " but they refused. So during the meeting Hamburg and his cohorts honked on duck calls every time Air Force officials used the term "Peacekeeper." The local police chief warned Hamburg to stop quacking during the meeting or he would be arrested for disturbing the peace. But Hamburg didn't quake. He quacked.

Some of Hamburg's associates were reluctant to honk against the law, but Hamburg says "you gotta put yourself on the line. You gotta get yourself arrested so we can fight this thing in court." According to Hamburg, the Air Force reps in Torrington refused to talk about the "real" MX. They offered detailed information about land and water use, but "they refused to address the issue of a nuclear attack," he reports. Though his manner of protest may be unorthodox, for Hamburg, a father of six who lives three miles from a proposed MX site, the thought of living on a nuclear bulls-eye is no laughing matter.

SPORTING LIFE: There are Architects for Social Responsibility and Social Workers Against Nuclear War. Now there's an antinuclear group for professional jocks—Athletes United for Peace. Founded last November by Robert Swan, a Lawrence, Kansas, insurance agent who works with athletes, AUP was organized, in the words of executive director Steve McKinney, to "promote peace through people-to-people confrontations, particularly sports." And it has signed well-known athletes as endorsers, including runner Jim Ryun, former pro basketball star Jo Jo White, and Rick Sanford, free safety for the New England Patriots.

The first AUP-sponsored "confrontation" occurred in April, when the Soviet Union, at the invitation of AUP, sent 14 world-class track and field performers to the 58th annual Kansas Relays in Lawrence. The Soviets walked away with many of the honors, setting six meet records, but not all of the action was on the field. The Soviets were given a dose of American culture—square dancing, cowboy hats, and a potluck supper. After the relays, Soviet and American athletes participated in a panel discussion on U.S.-Soviet relations.

Now AUP has several projects on its agenda. It is trying to send a contingent of athletes, AUP members and World War II veterans to East Germany in November for a commemoration of the meeting of Soviet and U.S. troops at the Elbe River. From there the group will travel to Moscow and Leningrad. AUP is also sponsoring a letter-writing campaign to Reagan and Andropov, asking them to accept Lawrence Mayor David Longhurst's invitation to meet in Lawrence for a peace summit. And AUP hopes soon to start producing media spots using professional athletes.



Kansas Relays: The Russians are here

THE FBI STORY: A Federal Bureau of Investigation special agent named Ron Rollins, based in the bureau's lower Manhattan office, recently called NUCLEAR TIMES editor Greg Mitchell and suggested that they get together to talk about unspecified subjects. This was a highly unusual request; longtime *Nation* editor Victor Navasky, for example, says he has never been approached in this way. And the phone call came in the wake of published reports that the FBI is keeping files on several prominent peace groups, including Physicians for Social Responsibility, Mobilization for Survival and the War Resisters League.

Asked to describe what he was looking for, Rollins said, "It has come to our attention that Soviet officials have had contact with *Nuclear Times*." He said he wanted to know about the officials and the nature of the contacts. Rollins, whose work at the FBI involves counter-intelligence, explained that he was not looking for anything that "reflects negatively on *Nuclear Times*."

In a subsequent letter, the magazine's legal counsel, Paul M. Gulielmetti, informed Rollins that because his inquiry "involved issues of critical importance to our client's operation as a journal and publication, we have advised *Nuclear Times* to refer all future inquiries made by you or your colleagues to this office." Rollins made a further request, through Gulielmetti, to talk to Mitchell, explaining that he was compiling "personality assessment data" on individuals the magazine had allegedly come in contact with "to see if they are known intelligence agents." He added politely that it was NUCLEAR TIMES' prerogative to cooperate. NUCLEAR TIMES declined his invitation. □

PHOTO BY TOM DORSEY

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GO PLACIDLY AMID THE SCORCHED CITIES AND THE BURNING BODIES AND REMEMBER WHAT PEACE THERE ONCE WAS ON THIS EARTH. AS FAR AS POSSIBLE OPEN UP YOUR EYES TO THE alarming rate of arms buildup and try to think of alternatives, for we pass this way but once. ▲ The arms race is becoming absurd if not statistically insane. We are all sisters and brothers of this fragile planet with its nation-states and their devastating armaments, and nuclear war will only mean one thing: mutually-assured-destruction (MAD). March peacefully in large united groups to protest this insanity and send messages to those who represent you in Congress, Parliament or the Politburo. ▲ Write also to your representatives in the United Nations and tell them of your fears and your tremblings. ▲ When you see the arms race proliferate, counsel the nations of the world to spend their monies more wisely and for human benefit. ▲ Go out among your fellow citizens and cross borders and boundaries to spread the word of disarmament. ▲ There is no reason under the sun for nations to frighten other nations and a war will solve nothing although it might end everything. ▲ There can be no victor in the holocaust that is so possible. ▲ With your determination and your love of life, strive to convince others of the need for worldwide disarmament and be true to your own convictions and insights. Believe in the future and work for peace. You are not alone. ▲

BY DANIEL HALEVI BLOOM

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OCTOBER DEMONSTRATIONS

Euromissiles In Home Stretch

"The idea is to have a broad outpouring of sentiment in hundreds of communities," says Mike Jendrzejczyk, who helped develop the idea for the weekend of protest, October 21-24. "This is a critical time."

That refrain is currently being echoed by antinuclear campaigners across the country—and throughout the world. What has triggered this cry is the pending deployment of U.S. cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe. And it is this deployment, scheduled to start some time before the end of December, that has led to plans for a series of protests nationwide.

October will be a busy month for the movement. At center stage will be the October 21-24 actions, to be held at nuclear weapons research, testing, production, storage and deployment sites, congressional offices, federal buildings and city halls throughout the country. These protests, endorsed by over 300 local groups and most of the national antinuclear organizations, will coincide with similar actions in Europe and Canada. And the main focus of these demonstrations—ranging from the customary rally to more innovative events, such as an attempt at encircling the White House—will be the Euromissiles. *(For listings of some events, see Calendar.)* Groups will be holding religious services, sponsoring rallies, conducting civil disobedience or lobbying their congressional representatives. "Keeping these events local and decentralized," explains Jendrzejczyk, disarmament coordinator of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, "will give them greater political impact."

Cruise control: Nationwide protests will take aim at the Euromissiles

One of the principle reasons for staging the demonstrations is not only to register opposition to the deployment and support for the European antinuclear movement, but also to try to nudge Congress toward finding an alternative to the December deployment. Though the Reagan administration has stood fast, within Congress there has been some support for delaying deployment in order to give negotiators in Geneva more time to reach an agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces. Last July, 101 members of the House of Representatives voted for an amendment sponsored by Representative Ronald Dellums that called for a year's delay in deployment. That's far from a majority, but antinuclear lobbyists are now targeting about 80 representatives who voted against the delay but have opposed the MX.

Jane Midgley of the Cruise and Pershing Project in Washington, D.C., notes that if constituents apply pressure, a new "delay" amendment in the House could pick up a lot more votes. But she admits that such an amendment faces many obstacles—such as being overshadowed by the MX vote and fallout from the Korean

The Missiles Of October

On December 12, 1979, NATO announced a "two-track" strategy for the "modernization" of intermediate-range nuclear forces in Western Europe. The *first track* called for the United States to deploy 108 Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany (replacing the shorter-range Pershing 1a missiles) and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles in five European states. The *second track* urged simultaneous negotiations to limit nuclear arms.

Although negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union are still in progress, the first track seems to be faster. The first cruise and Pershing 2 missiles are scheduled to be deployed by the end of this December *(see page 22 for the breakdown)*. The entire NATO Euromissile force is expected to be in place by 1988.

Both the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles represent not just "modernization," but a qualitative increase in weaponry. The cruise missile is a small—about 20 feet long—pilotless aircraft. The military claims it is extremely accurate, able to travel a distance of 1500 miles in about three hours carrying a payload 15 times as powerful as the Hiroshima explosion, and capable of flying low enough to escape radar detection. The Pershing 2 missile is larger and much faster. It will be able to reach its targets within the Soviet Union in several minutes.

The deployment of both missiles may threaten future arms control agreements. With the Pershing 2 missiles minutes away from the Soviet Union, the Soviets may be less agreeable to a freeze. (In fact, the deployment might cause the Soviets to adopt a risky launch-on-warning policy.) And the cruise missile—due to its size—will be difficult to verify. The Soviets have said that if these missiles are deployed, they will respond in kind.

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS

jetliner incident—and that lobbying for a delay in the Senate is even more problematic. Nevertheless, she wants to make it difficult for members of Congress to say that there is no choice. "There are people running around Congress who say they're for arms control but are not even looking at the cruise and Pershing," Midgley adds. "That will look more ridiculous as the fall goes on."

SPOTLIGHT ON EUROMISSILES

The October demonstrations will try to thrust Euromissile deployment into the political spotlight. But the call for these actions, with endorsers who run the political gamut of the movement, encompasses more than demanding a halt to deployment. It calls for a freeze (and requests that funds saved by a freeze be transferred to social programs) and urges the Soviet Union to reduce substantially its intermediate-range missiles aimed at Europe. Within the ad hoc planning committee for the demonstrations, there had been some debate over whether to include a fifth point—opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America—but it was ultimately decided that this fifth point would be optional.

Although most of the Euromissile protests will occur between October 21 and 24, some demonstrations have been scheduled for earlier in the month. When President Reagan meets West German President Karl Carstens in Philadelphia on October 6, local peace activists will be there, under the banner of "Friendship Without Missiles," to protest U.S. and West German collaboration in deploying the Euromissiles. What particularly irks the activists is that this meeting is supposed to commemorate the arrival of the first Germans in America in 1683. But the first German settlers, as protest organizers are quick to point out, were Quaker and Mennonite pacifists fleeing military conscription. Nine days later, activists from Colorado and surrounding states will gather in Golden, Colorado, and try to form a human chain around the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant, which produces nuclear warhead triggers for the Euromissiles and other weapons.

October might also bring votes on the MX in the House and Senate, as well as a Senate vote on the freeze. When Congress reconvened on September 12, anti-MX and pro-freeze lobbyists renewed their fights on the Hill. Though a freeze victory in the Senate seemed improbable, freeze supporters repeated their desire to obtain a vote and get senators on record. (At the same time, the freeze campaign was planning to hold its first annual walkathon on October 1 in 250 cities; organizers expected to net $1 million.) But it was with the MX that antinuclear lobbyists could reasonably contemplate some success.

Last July the House authorized funds for the MX by the narrow margin of 13 votes. In preparation for the appropriations votes in the House and Senate, the MX opposition, according to April Moore of the National Campaign to Stop the MX, concentrated on lobbying swing votes while insuring that those who voted against the MX in July would do so again. During the past few weeks, the Campaign has sent to swing districts panels of retired military and Central Intelligence Agency officials who oppose the MX. But lobbyists note that the repercussions following the Soviet attack on the Korean airliner may have weakened the movement's chance of stopping the MX.

SHIFTING GEARS

After a relatively quiet summer, punctuated by demonstrations around Hiroshima/Nagasaki days and the August 27 march, the movement is increasing its efforts on all fronts—in the street and on Capitol Hill. "It is important now to project an image of a national movement," says Leslie Cagan of Mobilization for Survival, one of the groups planning the Euromissile actions. "It is not an accident that all these events are happening on the same weekend."

The October actions also reflect the growing international character of the antinuclear movement. As E.P. Thompson, the elder statesman of the British peace movement, notes, "We are being forced together by the threat of these missiles." Lynne Jones, one of the campers at Greenham Common, adds that the U.S. movement must play a key role if the missiles are to be stopped. "After all," she explains, "the missiles are still in America. The U.S. movement can probably do more to stop them than we can." And American Friends Service Committee's Pam Solo maintains that "internationalizing the movement" will enhance any chance for success.

Although they say the "time is critical," activists note that if deployment does go ahead in December, it is important that this is not seen as a stunning, or final, defeat. Momentum now rests squarely on the side of deployment; actions this fall will be aimed at countering this momentum. But if the missiles are deployed, activists here and abroad pledge that opposition activities will continue. "We'll just have to go from stopping the process to reversing the process," says Leslie Cagan. The latter won't be any easier than the former. But as Cagan adds, "What choices do we have?"

—David Corn

Flight 7 Fallout

A survey of more than 30 antinuclear weapons groups across the country reveals that repercussions from the tragic Soviet attack on Korean Air Lines Flight 7, which took 269 lives, may not be as bad for the peace movement as some predicted or feared. The survey, conducted by NUCLEAR TIMES on September 8, found that most activists are sticking to their agendas.

"In the short-run there is no question that there is some danger to the movement," said Chaplain Morrison at the freeze campaign's Washington, D.C., office. "But it also seems to have intensified the commitment of people within the movement." Betty Bumpers of Peace Links said she was surprised by the "steadfastness" of peace activists; many others said they were "amazed." Donna Cooper of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom observed, "People are working harder now because they know our base for the October demonstrations has weakened."

Not everyone, of course, is optimistic. An Iowa activist, Margi Masteller, said she was "waiting out the emotional storm." Most of the groups in the San Francisco area decided to "lay low" for awhile, according to one local organizer. Some movement leaders feel that the Flight 7 tragedy will have a chilling effect on efforts to pass the freeze and stop specific weapons systems. "It's a real step backward," said Montana activist Mary Wilham. But many others feel the chill will pass. Few reported receiving crank calls or hate mail and Woody Foster, field coordinator of the freeze campaign in Los Angeles, claimed that he has received such little negative reaction that "it's almost as if nothing happened." Many, in fact, referred to the "opportunity" the movement now has to show Americans the need to reduce weapons stockpiles and "hair-trigger" tensions so that the fire next time won't be nuclear. And they pointed out that the MX, cruise and Pershing 2 missiles are no less dangerous or any more necessary than they were before. "All the arguments against the MX are still there," Kathleen Sheekey of Common Cause observed.

Referring to the attack on Flight 7, Howard Morland of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, said: "It's the kind of thing guaranteed to happen. The movement has to understand that we have to live with these things. They're beyond our control—but they're also the reason we're here."**—Greg Mitchell**

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"SWINGING" SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Alliance Makes House Calls

When the House voted in June on deleting funding for the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, Mel Levine, a freshman Democrat from Santa Monica's liberal 27th congressional district, voted against the deletion. A month later, in July, Levine voted *for* the Dellums amendment to delay basing the Euromissiles for another year.

What happened in the intervening weeks to change Levine's mind was due in part to a unique grass-roots lobbying effort mounted by the Southern California Alliance for Survival. Levine was the first of several Southern California congressmen targeted by the Alliance to turn their "swing" votes against first-strike nuclear weapons. After Alliance organizers spoke at 25 house meetings with antinuclear activists in the district, Levine received hundreds of letters and dozens of phone calls in an impressive display of constituent lobbying.

This hard-core lobbying effort represents a dramatic shift in focus for the group. For six years the Alliance had sponsored many successful rallies and concerts, organized 30 chapters and compiled a mailing list of 26,000. But as deployment of the Euromissiles loomed, the Alliance recognized that fund-raising and public education weren't enough.

Borrowing from the successful techniques of the United Farm Workers union (UFW) and the Catholic Worker, the Alliance has elicited a two-year commitment from six volunteers who will be given room, board, expenses and $5 a week to work full-time. To maintain the *esprit de corps* necessary for a punishing schedule of 16-hour days, they live together in a house provided by the UFW or another group. Starting July 4, the organizers received an intense six weeks of training from Fred Ross, the 73-year-old organizer who taught farmworkers' leader Cesar Chavez, worked for many years as Saul Alinsky's West Coast surrogate and helped direct Diane Feinstein's successful mayoral campaign in San Francisco.

Ross spent three days giving basic training—how to develop a "rap," set up house meetings, mount phone and mail campaigns and other techniques—and accompanied the organizers as they began their work in Levine's district. Ross himself sees no difference between training union organizers and antinuclear activists. "The techniques are applicable to any type of organization," says Ross.

House meetings are at the core of the Alliance strategy. An organizer asks an Alliance member to invite from four to 10 of his friends or associates from the targeted district to the member's house, where the organizer presents a prepared "rap" on nuclear weapons and political strategy and makes a strong pitch for their active participation. Those attending are asked to donate money and write letters to their "target" that very evening. They are also asked to distribute leaflets or help gather thousands of "voter action cards" to be turned in to the congressional representative demanding that he or she vote against first-strike weapons (and warning that voters will be "watching").

Most importantly, those attending are asked to invite four to 10 of *their* friends to their homes for a similar meeting—*ad infinitum*. For the month of September alone the Alliance organizers had 60 house meetings scheduled.

According to Ellie Cohen, who left her salaried position as the Alliance's director to become the new $5-a-week director of organizing, the idea for the citizen lobbying effort arose out of a need to "keep the momentum of the freeze going but also to extend beyond it, to give it political muscle. As successful as the freeze [referendum in California] was, it is nonbinding and is also too narrow in its focus. By not touching on the issue of the war economy, it excluded minorities and those who feel they depend on the defense industry for their livelihood."

That economic issue is apparent in the work undertaken thus far. Levine's district contains some corporate giants of the defense industry, including Rockwell International, Hughes and TRW. Representative Glenn Anderson, a Democrat in a neighboring district who is the Alliance's next target, represents thousands of constituents employed at McDonnell-Douglas and at the Seal Beach Naval Weapons Yard, where many nuclear warheads are stored.

Levine says that he is puzzled about why *his* district was chosen for the Alliance's maiden organizing effort.

"Philosophically, I'm with them [the Alliance] 95 percent—I was a strong proponent of the freeze and voted against the MX," Levine told NUCLEAR TIMES. "I can't understand why they didn't choose

a representative who cast votes for their positions only 30 percent of the time." Cohen explains that the Alliance had a lot of supporters in Levine's district—a real "foothold"—and felt it was important to start the long-term organizing campaign with a victory. (Representative Anderson, a 15-year House veteran who favors the freeze but often votes "hawkish," will be tougher to "swing.")

Levine feels "reasoned discourse" would have been a more appropriate course to pursue with him rather than "power politics." Cohen, however, says that Levine did not make himself available for "discourse" at first and that the Alliance's preliminary dealings with him were through an aide in his district office. Once the organizing campaign began, however, Levine spoke to Cohen personally for 20 minutes.

Cohen hopes Levine will become a congressional leader against first-strike weaponry and Levine admits that it's a "possibility." Nonetheless, Levine says he would still not vote to delete funding for the cruise and Pershing missiles. Citing NATO treaties, Levine says he believes it's important for the United States to follow through on its commitments to allies and not withdraw unilaterally.

Alliance organizers plan to keep the pressure on Levine and have collected over 3700 signatures in Anderson's congressional district already. And they have invited activists from around the country who want to launch similar campaigns in their districts to take part in Alliance training sessions. Cohen stresses that the organizing campaign is not primarily aimed at educating people. "We want people to be able to do more than attend a vigil or sign a freeze petition," says Cohen. "We believe that they can take the power that is theirs in a democracy and stop the arms race."

—Gina Lobaco

Alliance organizers: Ellie Cohen, Steve Gibson (sitting), Julia Doughty, Fred Ross Sr., Mary Sullivan, Don Tait (left to right)

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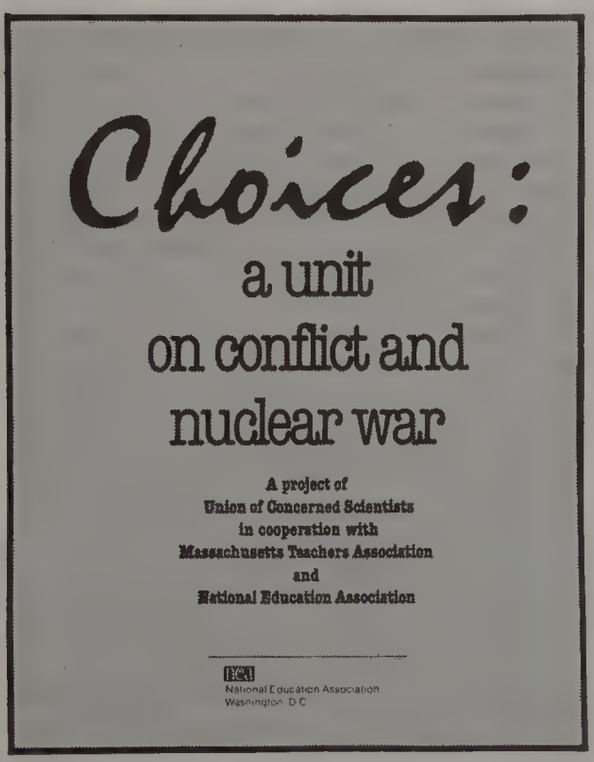
Dr. John E. Mack, Professor of Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School



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New films for activists

ATOMIC ARTIST

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Tony Price is a sculptor who has lived and worked near the Los Alamos National Laboratory for the last 20 years. From materials found in the scrapheap outside of the lab, Price has fashioned a fantastic menagerie of pieces, literally "beating swords into plowshares." *ATOMIC ARTIST* shows graphically some of Price's best work, and is a stimulating look at how one artist views his responsibility to keep people awake to the critical issues of their time.

29 minutes 1983 Rental: $50 Purchase: $495

GODS OF METAL

A film by Robert Richter for the Maryknolls

A moving look at the nuclear arms race and the people around the country who are trying to stop it. The film explores the economic and social effects of the arms build-up, and shows concrete actions by groups and individuals to stop it, concluding with the wave of demonstrations around the world in the spring of 1982.

Nominated for the Academy Award, Best Documentary Short, 1982

27 minutes 1982 Rental: $50 Purchase: $325

THE UNQUIET DEATH OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG

A film by Alvin Goldstein

Providing an excellent background on the first Cold War, *UNQUIET DEATH* examines the many questions still surrounding the "Atom Spies" case. This year marks the 30th anniversary of the Rosenbergs' execution.

90 minutes 1975 Classroom rental: $100 Purchase $1250

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MOVEMENT POLITICS

Central America Spurs Debate

This summer, while antinuclear activists continued to lobby for the freeze and planned fall campaigns against the MX and the Euromissiles, a U.S. naval task force cruised toward Central America. The administration claimed its mission was only to engage in routine military exercises, but critics maintained that this show of force is aimed at intimidation and only serves to provoke further tensions in the region.

President Reagan's gunboat diplomacy has also spurred discussion within the antinuclear weapons movement about whether activists and groups should become involved in the burgeoning anti-intervention movement. Like practically all political questions facing the movement, the Central America debate boils down to a discussion of whether to take a single-issue (antinuclear) or multi-issue (peace) approach.

YESTERDAY AND TODAY

This is not the first time that antinuclear activists have been confronted with the question of what to do about halting U.S. involvement in a conventional war. During the 1960s the peace movement (which had just helped bring about the ban against atmospheric nuclear testing) made what some activists today consider a shortsighted mistake—it virtually dropped all of its antinuclear organizing in favor of working against the Vietnam War. Longtime peace activist and writer Sidney Lens predicts that the antinuclear movement will again turn into an antiwar movement, specifically against a war in Central America. "Circumstances will make the movement shift gears," Lens maintains. But other activists are quick to point out that due to the broad nature of today's movement, which encompasses both traditional peace groups (such as the War Resisters League) and new, single-focus antinuclear groups, there is little danger of antinuclear weapons issues becoming totally eclipsed by Central America concerns.

"As a peace group, clearly we have to respond to events in Central America," says Charlie Kraybill, a field organizer for SANE. "We have to be concerned with the likelihood of people dying now in conventional wars, as well as in a nuclear war in the future." But this sentiment is not shared by all antinuclear activists. A spokeswoman for Physicians for Social Responsibility notes, "We are a one-issue [antinuclear weapons] organization and are not involved." Karin Fierke, field director of the national freeze campaign, reports that while some local freeze groups have addressed the issue, the national campaign has not taken a stand on U.S. intervention in Central America. And Theo Brown of Ground Zero says that his organization's emphasis is on "the big picture, the horrible leap to nuclear war." Ground Zero, he adds, does not want to focus on U.S. policies related to specific conflicts. "Part of this is strategy," he explains. "We don't want it to seem that being critical of administration policy is part and parcel of the efforts to reduce the threat of nuclear war."

PEACE "LINKS"

But to other antinuclear activists—those who, unlike Brown, readily call themselves "peace activists"—the issues of intervention and the arms race are intricately linked. "They are both a part of the same whole—U.S. military and foreign policy in general," maintains Duane Shank of SANE. "To concentrate on one while ignoring the other doesn't make sense."

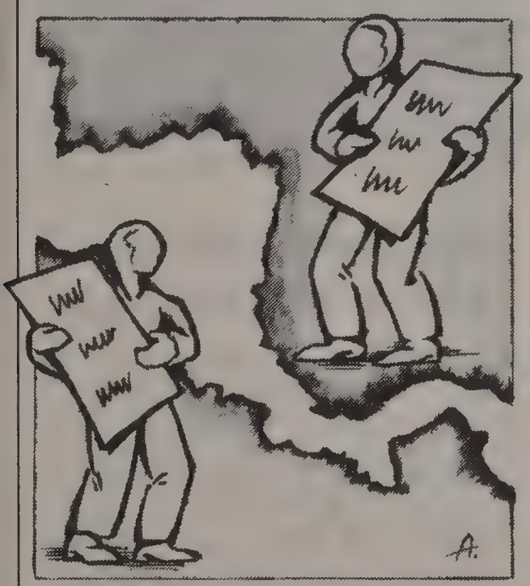
The Riverside Church Disarmament Program will hold a major conference on Nicaragua and Central America in New York City on October 2 and 3 (and another on civil disobedience and direct-action protests aimed at nuclear weapons the following month). And Mobilization for Survival (MFS) has urged its organizers and affiliated groups to raise the intervention issue during all of their antinuclear actions, such as the upcoming Euromissile protests. MFS recently helped initiate a coalition that is organizing a national demonstration to be held in Washington, D.C., on November 12, to protest U.S. intervention.

Local organizers who work with the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy have been eager to take up the intervention issue, according to Coalition director Richard Healey. In November the Coalition, along with SANE and the Institute for Policy Studies, will sponsor a conference in Washington, D.C., on the connections between the arms race and intervention. Healey has started talking with groups across the country about holding similar forums.

To some activists there is an obvious and important connection between events in Central America and the arms race. Scenarios for nuclear war often begin with a conventional war starting in

the Third World. (Coincidentally, recent events in Central America parallel a scenario developed for one of the versions of Ground Zero's *Firebreaks* game.) And the U.S. armada is most likely armed, according to the Center for Defense Information, with more than 100 tactical nuclear weapons, including surface-to-air missiles, bombs carried by naval aircraft and anti-submarine weapons.

But it hasn't been easy for antinuclear organizations to incorporate anti-intervention activity. "The gap between the two movements is striking," observes Healey. "We're trying to find ways to work on both." But there is no simple way, Healey says, to combine efforts. "The movements have different sets of demands," he explains. "We understand the underlying link of militarism, but most mass movements must have a simple set of demands."



Another matter is time and resources: how they should be divided. "We hear from local activists who are working on the freeze, the MX and the Euromissiles that they are in favor of SANE working on anti-intervention topics," says Shank. "But they're working on these other [antimissile] issues, as well as at a paying job to support their families. They don't have enough time."

But some groups that deal primarily with nuclear weapons issues have not found it too difficult to take on some anti-intervention work. After President Reagan announced he was sending U.S. troops to Honduras, George Sommaripa of the Council for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze in Cambridge, Massachusetts, provoked what he calls a "considerable debate" within the Massachusetts state freeze committee. This committee then decided to send out a two-part message to all freeze contacts that asked them to study the intervention issue and take whatever action possible, recommending that they make use of their phone trees.

In Washington, D.C., Gretchen Eick, policy advocate for the United Church of Christ, says that her office, which used to be quite active on Central America but recently shifted its emphasis to weapons issues, is back to lobbying on U.S. policy in Central America. Does this mean Eick's weapons work will decrease? She says no. While acknowledging that a conflict for resources between anti-weapons and anti-intervention forces is possible, she doesn't believe this will occur. As events in Central America heat up, she explains, new people will be recruited to contribute the additional organizing required.

TRADING HATS

But events in Central America may carry some worrisome consequences for the antinuclear movement. Although it is too early to tell, Richard Healey notes that competition for funding among peace and antinuclear groups may be exacerbated. And Sommaripa worries that if hostilities in Central America increase and U.S. troops are drawn into the fighting, peace activists might have to trade their antinuclear hats for anti-intervention gear. Some activists also believe that a hot war in Central America involving U.S. troops might affect arms talks and distract Congress from lending serious attention to arms control. Additionally, Central America—not arms control—could come to dominate political discourse surrounding the 1984 elections.

As U.S. intervention in Central America becomes a more controversial issue, there might also be ramifications for antinuclear lobbyists on Capitol Hill. As John Isaacs, legislative director for the Council for a Livable World, explains, if President Reagan starts losing on Central America, his aura of invincibility on military and foreign relations issues could be undermined. Members of Congress might then be more inclined to vote against him. It could also cut the other way, however. Some members, Isaacs notes, may only be willing to vote against the President a limited number of times. They could rack up a "peace" vote by opposing his Central America policy and a "pro-defense" vote by supporting some of his weapon programs.

Because there is no coordinating body for the antinuclear movement, the question of how deeply to commit activist attention to Central America will be worked out on group-by-group basis, with different organizations reaching differing conclusions. Will this lead to political tensions? Richard Healey says that it won't, under one condition: "Those of us working on both don't demand that everyone works on both and remember that it is legitimate for some people to remain primarily concerned with nuclear war."

—David Corn

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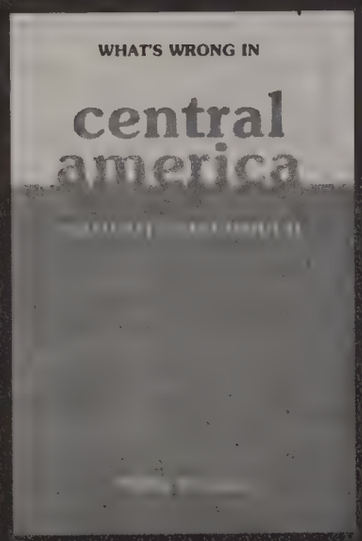

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Round-Up

Fallout From SAG Fleet: Boom Or Bust?

■ When the Navy announced its decision to dock the nuclear-capable Surface Action Group fleet off Stapleton, Staten Island, in late July, local politicians cheered. SAG was going to pump $500 million a year into the New York economy. Senator Alfonse D'Amato mentioned as many as 9000 new jobs. Pro-freeze Representative Joseph Addabbo dismissed antinuclear qualms, claiming that "no ship comes into port with nuclear weapons on board." But others have found a different story.

Eugene Carroll, a retired rear admiral and deputy director of the Center for Defense Information, says that the battleship *U.S.S. Iowa*, which heads the fleet, will initially be capable of firing 32 of the Navy's Tomahawk cruise missiles and that consideration is being given to increasing that figure to 360 missiles. He notes that as many as 80 percent of our warships regularly enter and leave U.S. ports with nuclear weapons on board and "there is no reason to believe this will not be the case in New York." Carroll also predicts that the economic "boom" will be only a fraction of what has been predicted.

This last point is supported by new research by Paul Murphy, director of the Military Information Center at the Council on Economic Priorities in New York. Murphy found Navy estimates of employment and income benefits at variance with many estimates released by politicians. He discovered that the official Navy total for directly-related permanent and temporary jobs, for both military and civilian personnel, ranges between 6100 and 6600. Murphy, quoting Navy statistics, estimates that, at most, there will be 1000 permanent jobs for civilians, which will be in maintenance and repair.

In the predominantly conservative community of Staten Island, local groups opposing SAG have sprung up, and are working with community organizations, lawyers, established antinuclear groups such as Mobilization for Survival and nascent local freeze and SANE chapters. On-site demonstrations will be staged during the fall, including one on October 8 that will be attended by anti-SAG activists up and down the East Coast.

August 27: Only the beginning?

King March Coalition Looks To Congress

■ A quarter of a million marched for Jobs, Peace and Freedom in Washington, D.C. More than 16,000 turned out in San Francisco, and thousands more took part in local activities tied to the twentieth anniversary of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech. The encouraging events of August 27 have long passed, but the New Coalition of Conscience, which banded together to organize the march, is still here, trying to continue the work begun by the rally.

"The immediate thing is to encourage local coalitions to stay together," says Donna Brazile, the Coalition's staff director, "and push through the legislative initiatives that we have identified as necessary first steps." This package includes the Martin Luther King Jr. national holiday bill; Representative Ronald Dellums' alternative defense budget; the Senate freeze resolution, and the Hawkins Community Renewal Employment Act.

On a national level, however, the Coalition has not yet decided how it will function and maintain communication among the 600 organizations that joined it prior to the march. At the festive rally in Washington, D.C., it was apparent that most of those who attended came as part of a specific issue constituency, but all seemed willing to consider the other causes advocated that day. The Coalition, however, may have some trouble integrating so many issues into one organi-

PHOTO BY HAZEL HANKIN

zation. Because it contains groups with some strong political differences on such issues as the freeze, the Middle East, gay rights and abortion, it may prove difficult to preserve the Coalition as a politically effective body. "We have found some issues that we all can support," says Brazile, "but some issues can divide us. When we have a clear idea where we are heading, we'll have to see who can stay and who might have to leave the Coalition." One unifying issue, she adds, is the Reagan administration: "Every single group is eager to work on 1984."

—David Corn

Protester greets women in Princeton, N.J.

Scandinavian Women Get Mixed Reception In U.S.

■Completing a 250-mile walk from New York City, the Scandinavian Women's Peace March was one of the first groups to enter the nation's capital in late August to participate in the Jobs, Peace and Freedom rally. The group represents six countries (Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Denmark and the Faroe Islands), 50 organizations, and professions that run from poets to parliament members. The 100 women came to the United States (paying about $1000 each for air fare) to protest the deployment of all types of nuclear weapons in Europe.

"We want Americans to know that we are scared to death of this new generation of nuclear weapons, and we don't want them on our soil," said Torill Eide of Norway, who recently left her job as a history teacher to become a permanent organizer for the March.

Along the route the Scandinavians spoke to church and community groups and showed Mercedes Gregory's new film of their widely-publicized 1982 peace march to Moscow, *Rings on the Water*. (The group made their first peace march, from Copenhagen to Paris, in 1981.) At a question-and-answer session at the New Brunswick Unitarian Society in New Jersey the women were asked to compare Soviet and American reactions to their march. Eva Nordland, professor at the University of Oslo, who participated in all three marches, said that in the Soviet Union tens of thousands of people came out to greet and march with them, and in the city of Kalinin 50,000 people were released from their jobs to join the marchers. "The Soviet people know what war is," Nordland said. "On the other hand, Americans feel it can't happen here. In New York City, for example, many people turned their heads when we walked by. They seemed to be afraid of us." Nordland said that in every country the women have visited "average" people joined their march along its route but in America only local organizers did so. But Satu Hassi of Finland pointed out that as the women marched to Washington "many people stopped to say, 'What you are doing is great, I agree with you 100 percent.' "

When they returned home, the women continued efforts to establish nuclear free zones in all of the Scandinavian countries. They also began planning for next year's march, which they hope will bring together American, European and Soviet women.

—Lenore Duensing

Wrap-Up

The list of **nuclear free zones** has grown to more than 23 cities, towns and counties in the United States, with major new initiatives underway in Madison, Wisconsin, and Berkeley, California, and within the Wisconsin state legislature •••• Among the dozens of **direct action protests** in **August** were major events in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (where 1000 linked hands to form a "nuclear triangle" downtown) and at Offutt Air Force Base near Omaha, Nebraska (where 208 people committed civil disobedience) •••• In Portland, Oregon, Norman Solomon (who wrote a column for NUCLEAR TIMES in July calling for an upsurge in direct actions) was among seven arrested in a protest at the **Defense Logistics Agency**, which supervises the manufacture of parts for nuclear weapons at a number of Oregon plants •••• And, in a protest at the popular tourist attraction, the **National Air and Space Museum** in Washington, D.C., two women splashed their blood on displays that featured the cruise and Minuteman missiles •••• Several groups (including SANE, Greenpeace, Union of Concerned Scientists, Federation of American Scientists and Nuclear Control Institute) are challenging as illegal the Reagan administration's plan to provide more **nuclear assistance to India** despite that country's continuing program to develop nuclear weapons.

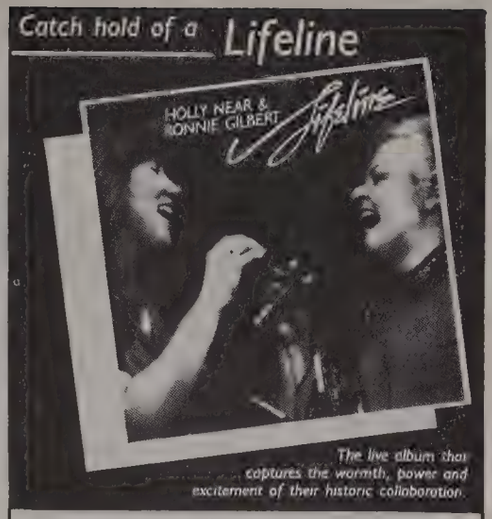
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PHOTO BY BILL RYAN

BY DANIEL ELLSBERG

Bring Back The Moratorium

I recognize that most local organizing groups have already picked a day for their major rally, demonstration or vigil for the period October 21-24, and that most will have chosen Saturday or Sunday, October 22 or 23. Nevertheless, because of political urgency and the need for an action that is a degree stronger than the demonstrations of the recent past, I urge consideration by national and local organizations of the merits of choosing a single working day, Friday, October 21, as the occasion for as many of the rallies and demonstrations as possible across the country. The effect could be a national work-stoppage, a tacit, limited, general strike.

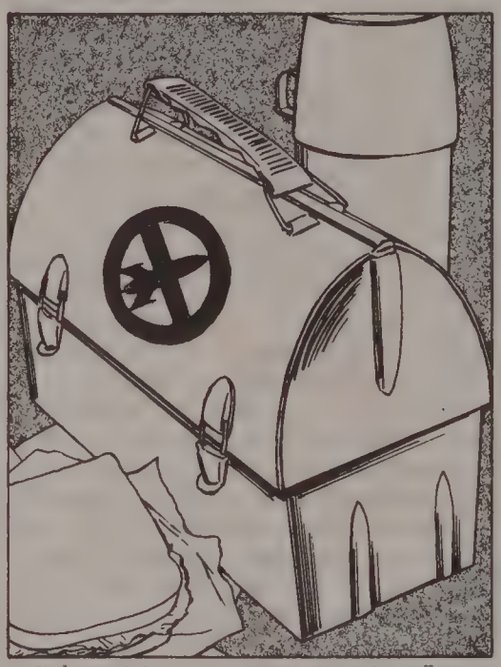
This would be modeled on the National Moratorium Day of October 15, 1969, which was successful beyond all expectations at the time, both in the range of participation and in its actual political impact (though this was effectively concealed by Richard Nixon for years: see Nixon's and H.R. Haldeman's memoirs and Seymour Hersh's account in *The Price of Power)*.

For a Moratorium Day to be held on October 21 many groups would have to schedule new events or re-schedule events already planned. I would not be making such a dreadful suggestion at this late date if these were not desperate times. If too little time remains for organizing a successful Moratorium Day for October 21 it is, nevertheless, a concept that should be strongly considered in the weeks that follow.

FOCUS FOR THE MORATORIUM DAY

To guarantee wide participation, and, all the more, to motivate the work-day stoppage, a focus broader than stopping the deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles is essential in the United States this fall (just as rallies in Europe, if focused only on MX or the freeze, would fizzle).

I propose particular emphasis on a demand that the President, or, if necessary, Congress, pursue an immediate, mutual U.S.-Soviet suspension of the underground testing of nuclear warheads and the flight-testing of new ballistic missiles. This would apply not only to new ICBMs, such as the MX and the Soviet SSX-24; but to new medium- and intermediate-range missiles such as the Pershing 2 and the Soviet SS-21, 22 and 23, as well as to submarine-launched ballistic missiles on both sides. In brief: we ask the President or Congress to seek an "*immediate* mutual halt to the testing of warheads and missiles." An end of testing would effectively halt the major part of the arms race.



It is widely recognized that the testing of warheads and of ballistic missiles can now be adequately verified by each side by *existing* means of surveillance alone. Thus no further time-consuming negotiations over new means of verification are required in order for each side to assure itself that the other is not testing.

New means of verification, perhaps cooperative ones, *are* probably necessary to monitor a fully comprehensive, permanent, mutual freeze, which would include testing of cruise missiles and *production* and deployment of all nuclear materials, warheads and vehicles; and likewise, to monitor reductions in stockpiles. But these new means of verification, pointing to a full freeze, can best be negotiated in the context of a mutual halt *now* to all the activities that can already be adequately monitored.

We should be demanding that the President try right now to end the major part of the arms race, verifiably, in the time of a phone call to President Andropov, conveying: "We won't test any more warheads or new ballistic missiles unless you do." If Reagan refuses (as is likely) even to attempt this "phone-call freeze," then Congress must be asked to confront the Soviets with this challenge and opportunity.

Congress can, in fact, do this, by "fencing" testing funds—making the authorization or appropriation of funds for testing warheads or ballistic missiles after a certain date *contingent* on Soviet testing after that date. (To spend any money on U.S. testing, the President would have to convince Congress, with evidence, that the Soviets were still testing.) We should hold congressional representatives accountable in the coming elections if they fail to use their constitutional power in this way.

Although this approach is more feasible in the spring, during the authorization phase of the budget process, it is not too soon to put the notion of congressional budgetary power—and responsibility—into the minds of voters and Congress. (The Vietnam War was ended only by public pressure on Congress to cut off the funds for the bombing.)

If crucial events in the next 18 months are to be influenced by our movement, it must be by public pressure on Congress to restrict the budget. Similar pressure on Congress will still be needed under a new President, if we get one. But we can't wait until then. And that's where Moratorium Day comes in.

WHY WORK-DAY RALLIES?

As demonstrated in 1969, when one to two million Americans took part in the first Moratorium, a work-stoppage, however limited, has a number of merits. It gives people the sense that they are doing something more committed and impressive than attending a rally on their day off. It lets them announce their position to their bosses and co-workers and provides the opportunity to encourage their colleagues to join. It may well result (as in 1969) in many businesses and schools giving time off, swelling the ranks and adding strongly to the expression of popular support. (If rallies start at noon, many people can just devote their lunch hour, while others take off the whole afternoon or day.)

The experience in 1969 indicates that these effects, combined with the national character of the event, strongly outweigh in impressiveness the fact that some people (who might turn out on a Saturday or a Sunday) will not take time off from work. And those who cannot

ILLUSTRATION BY KIMBERLY BULCKEN

come can wear an arm band at work or school, promoting further discussion.

If a work-stoppage is to be visible, people who do take time off must gather at a rally. They may well be encouraged to hold a vigil part of the day, attend neighborhood meetings, visit congressional offices, and so forth. They must *also* be encouraged to come to a central rally—in effect, to be counted.

IT WORKED IN '69!

Although very few outside the White House knew it at the time (or even today), the October 15, 1969, demonstrations aborted the Nixon administration's plans for an escalation of the war in Vietnam just two weeks later.

Starting in August 1969, Nixon had repeatedly warned the North Vietnamese, through Henry Kissinger and in secrecy from the American public, that they would be attacked more heavily than ever before—"A savage blow," Kissinger instructed his planners—if they did not accept the terms amounting to their defeat by November 1, 1969. *The threat included the possible use of nuclear weapons* against targets in North Vietnam (revealed by Haldeman's memoirs, and by Roger Morris, Kissinger's assistant, who reviewed planning folders, including photographs, for the specific nuclear targets selected, one of which was a mile and a half from the Chinese border).

Hanoi did not accept the terms dictated, then or later. Nixon gives one and only one reason in his memoirs why he did not then carry out what he calls "my November ultimatum." There were too many Americans in the streets and squares taking off from work and school to protest the war on October 15. "I knew," Nixon says, "that after all the protests and the Moratorium, American public opinion would be seriously divided by any military escalation of the war."

Many students today still remember wearing a black arm band or marching with their parents or older friends that fall of 1969, when they were seven years old or so. They were doing the same job their parents were doing on that occasion: being counted by the President, in opposition to his secret threats and plans. By departing from school or business-as-usual, children as well as adults were compelling him to maintain the existing moratorium, since Nagasaki, on the use of nuclear weapons against humans. They were buying time for humanity—another 14 years so far. We can thank them for what they did that day by doing it again. □

Daniel Ellsberg recently became a member of the national freeze campaign's Strategy Task Force.

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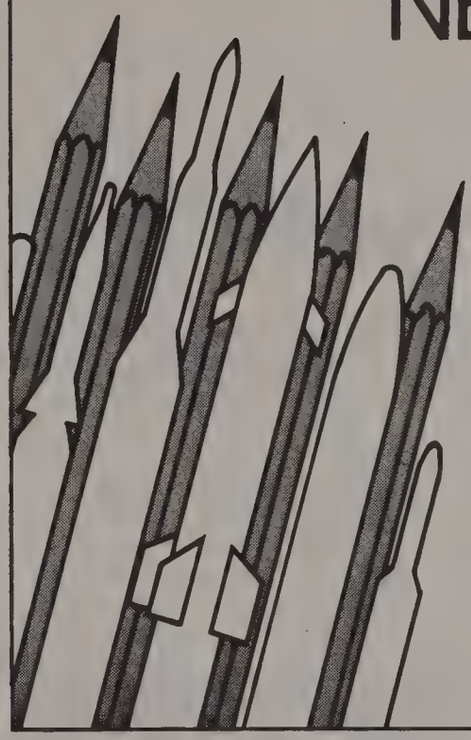

This ground-breaking conference on how the news media cover the nuclear arms race and U.S.-Soviet tensions was held March 18 and 19, 1983 at New York University's Department of Journalism, with support from the Gannett Foundation. A transcript of the proceedings (app. 250 pages) is now available, including keynote speeches, position papers, and remarks of the discussants and audience. Participants include Hodding Carter, Sidney Drell, Ralph Earle, James Fallows, Anne Garrels, Stephen Hess, Robert MacNeil, Judith Miller, Richard Pollak, Thomas Powers, and others.

For a copy of the transcript, send a check for $15 made out to New York University to: War, Peace & the News Media, Department of Journalism, NYU, 1021 Main, NY, NY 10003.

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BY FRED KAPLAN

Missing In Action . . .

The debate over whether to place Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe has thus far tended to ignore a rather central point: The missiles don't work, nor will they ever work.

Much has appeared in the press lately concerning the shoddy test results of the two weapons: rockets exploding on the launchpads, missiles crashing along their flight paths, and the like. But even these reports do not begin to address the profound shortcomings of the Euromissiles.

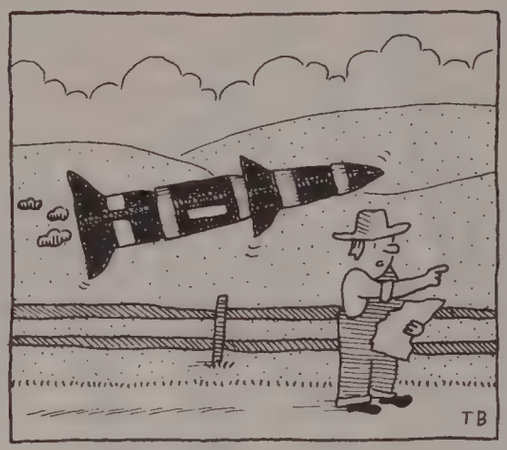
For there are serious flaws *inherent* in the technology that lies at the very heart of the design and the mission of the missiles. The idea behind both is that they possess almost incredible accuracy—weapons that explode within 100 feet of their targets, close enough to destroy military targets without gravely damaging civilian targets nearby. This makes fighting a "limited nuclear war" at least conceivable. Without terrific accuracy, in short, there is no need—on any level—for these two new missiles.

The most basic problem is that such accuracy is almost impossible to achieve.

Take a look at how the cruise missile is supposed to work. Inside the missile is an array of digital maps detailing the features and contours of the terrain over which the missile will fly. Attached to the bottom of the missile, staring straight down, is a radar altimeter, which measures the missile's altitude by bouncing a radar beam off surfaces below.

Within the missile's computer is a terrain-contour-matching (TERCOM) system. Periodically, TERCOM compares the reading of the radar altimeter with the data in the digital map. If the two don't match, TERCOM steers the missile back on course until they do. This is crucial, since the cruise flies quite slowly (about half the speed of sound) and in the atmosphere. Without TERCOM, it would drift and be buffeted miles and miles away from its intended target over the several hours it would take to get there.

But there are problems. First, TERCOM is useless over flatlands. If one square mile looks pretty much like the next, TERCOM doesn't know whether the missile is drifting or not. Second, seasonal change may affect its course. Looking down on a forest, for example (and one-third of the Soviet landmass consists



of forest), the radar altimeter will "see" the treetops when foliage blooms, but will see some mixture of treetop, trunk and ground when branches are bare. (This is pointed out in the classic text, Merrill Skolnik's *Radar Handbook*.) One way or the other, the image will not match the digital map's reading; the missile will become confused, get lost and may crash into the next hillside or other obstacle.

Crashes are a serious problem. This is due in part to the engine. The cruise missile's engine must have tremendous power; because the radar altimeter looks straight down, not straight ahead, the missile must be able to climb and maneuver very quickly to avoid obstacles. Yet, according to the General Accounting Office and the Air Force Operational Test and Evaluation Center, the engine is severely underpowered.

As a result, the Air Force may fly the missile at much higher altitudes, to avoid smashing into obstacles. However, this has two negative consequences. First, the whole point of the cruise, originally, was to fly in low. Because it's so slow, this low-flying ability is one way to avoid Soviet air defenses. Therefore, if it flies higher, it is easier for Soviet radar to detect—and thus easier for anti-aircraft guns or missiles to shoot down. (It is worth noting that in joint U.S. Army-Air Force field tests, the Army's I-Hawk surface-to-air missile shot down the cruise in seven out of 10 engagements.)

Second, flying higher makes the missile still less accurate. The higher it flies, the weaker the signal—the more blurred the image—from the radar altimeter. If the image is fuzzier, TERCOM's ability to distinguish terrain features below weakens, and the odds of the missile's drifting sharply increase.

The Pershing 2's innovative guidance system has problems similar to the cruise.

Inside the missile is a radar image of the area around its intended target. When the missile reenters the atmosphere, it slows down, beams a radar signal to the ground and receives the radar reflection. A miniature computer, called a Radar Area Correlator (RADAC), compares this reflection with the pre-stored image, laying one image on top of the other, turning and adjusting them until they coincide as much as possible. With the aid of a radar beam, the missile homes in on the radar image produced by the overlay.

Again, there are problems. The radar reflection will not necessarily match the pre-stored radar image. Picking up a concrete runway might not be a problem, but if the target sits in a valley or a hollow—as many command posts and missile sites do—the area could be swampy one day, and dry the next. Water reflects radar very well. Covered with moisture, the area will look nothing like the pre-stored image suggests; the warhead will continue falling to earth, but it won't accurately home in on the target.

If there's snow (and it snows a lot in the Soviet Union), forget it. Says one Pentagon official close to the Pershing program, "If everything is covered in snow, there is no information content that the system can read. It's probably better not to fire the weapon at all and to use something else, like an ICBM . . . . You won't hit the military target you do want to hit, and you might destroy some nearby city that you don't want to hit."

This sort of perspective on the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles is one that Caspar Weinberger might genuinely know nothing about. It is based on observations of middle-level technicians—in the Pentagon, consulting firms and weapons labs—who have studied terrain-following guidance systems, radars and radar-correlators for years, and whose examination of the Euromissiles only confirms their earlier, doubtful judgments.

The Euromissiles are political chips at this point. When speaking privately and honestly, even some administration officials concede that the missiles have little military utility, that they have long entered the ethereal world of political symbolism, international chest-thumping and domestic self-delusion. High-ranking officials and members of Congress don't care much about the technical realities, because reality has very little to do with the strategic debate today. □

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

BY BARRY M. CASPER

Like Caldicott In A Can

With this issue we introduce a new column of practical advice for antinuclear activists. It will report on tactics and activities that have proven successful in the past. We urge you to send us descriptions of organizing and educational strategies that have worked well in your area (care of "Ideas That Work," NUCLEAR TIMES, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001).

The room goes dark.

"The sound you are about to hear corresponds to the combined destructive capability of the atomic bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945."

Ping.

"The next sound corresponds, in the same units, to the destructive capability of the U.S. and Soviet strategic arsenals today."

Slowly at first, then faster and faster until they become an almost deafening avalanche, 100,000 BBs strike a metal plate. The sound goes on and on and on.

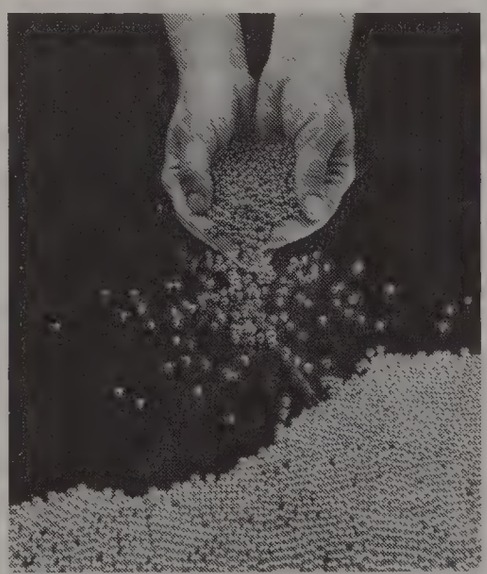
The impact is stunning. It is unforgettable. The response is universal silence. Later, when the lights go up and discussion does begin, comes the inevitable first question: "Why do we need more nuclear weapons?"

You don't need 100,000 BBs for this demonstration; more portable versions have precisely the same effect. One person can easily carry a coffee can holding 20,000 BBs. You can contrast the sound of one BB, equivalent to the 10 "Hiroshimas" that will destroy a medium-sized city, with the sound of 20,000 BBs, equivalent to the superpower arsenals today. The impact of this version is just as powerful as 100,000 BBs.

It's a good idea to begin with a short slide presentation, such as a seven-minute segment of the slide show *STOP vs. START*, that describes how far nuclear weapons have come since Hiroshima and reviews the weapons of the U.S. and Soviet arsenals today, expressing their destructive capabilities in units of "Hiroshimas" (which compare the area destroyed by a modern weapon to the comparable area destroyed by the 12.5 kiloton Hiroshima bomb). The slide show explains that the U.S. and Soviet strategic arsenals together amount to nearly 200,000 Hiroshimas, while only about 4000 Hiroshimas would wipe out all the cities of any appreciable size in either country.

The beauty of this demonstration is that anyone can do it. The slide show is factual and authoritative; the BBs drive home on a gut level the predicament we are in. You do not have to be a spellbinding speaker to achieve an impact that moves people to act. It is like Helen Caldicott in a can.

As a tool for public education about nuclear war, the BB demonstration is incredibly powerful. I wish every American and every citizen of the Soviet Union could hear it. I have a dream that next August 6 the sound of BBs will be heard from the steps of the U.S. Capitol in Washington, from the steps of all 50 state capitols, and in Moscow as well. In the meantime, I recommend this demonstration highly to anyone who speaks about nuclear war.



The metal sounding board can be the bottom of a metal trash can or a stack of ordinary kitchen pans in a container. BBs can be purchased for about $1.75 per 1500 at many hardware or sporting goods stores. I use slides 8-42 of the slide show *STOP vs. START*, which can be purchased for $20 from Nuclear War Graphics Project, 100 Nevada Street, Northfield, Minnesota 55057.

• • •

Powerful as it is, the BB demonstration only suggests the destructive potential of nuclear weapons. Films about the two occasions when nuclear weapons were actually used on people provide a unique link between the abstraction and the reality of nuclear war.

Many nuclear war educators have found that one especially powerful combination of short films consists of *Hiroshima/Nagasaki, August 1945* and *Pikadon*. *Hiroshima/Nagasaki* contains graphic footage shot by Japanese cameramen in the immediate aftermath of the bombings. *Pikadon*, an animated cartoon made in Japan 35 years later, depicts that August 6 morning at Hiroshima when a scene of children playing and ordinary people going about their everyday lives suddenly became a morning of incredible horror. Viewed together, in less than half an hour, the two films somehow manage to convey both what nuclear war will be like and how it will feel if it happens to us.

If you know what is available and where to get them cheaply, films can be an invaluable asset to nuclear war educators and activists. In this regard, everyone should know of the work of John Dowling and Karen Sayer. Dowling has compiled a computerized, annotated list describing virtually every nuclear war film. This continually updated listing is available from Dowling for $2 (Physics Department, Mansfield University, Mansfield, Pennsylvania 16933). Sayer, at the University of Michigan, has prepared a list of outlets for these films, including commercial distributors as well as film libraries where they may be rented, often much more cheaply. For instance, her list indicates more than 20 film libraries where *Hiroshima/Nagasaki, August 1945* can be rented for $10 or less, whereas the commercial distributor charges $35.

Sayer's list of over 150 films, and an abbreviated version of Dowling's descriptions, are included in the just-published *Organizing Manual: A Guide for Planning Educational Activities on Nuclear War and Arms Control*, available for $4 from the Union of Concerned Scientists, 26 Church Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02238. Several copies of *Pikadon* are available for rental in this country for $25 from Ron Santoni, Philosophy Department, Denison University, Granville, Ohio, 43023. □

Barry M. Casper is professor of physics at Carleton College in Minnesota and director of the Federation of American Scientists' Nuclear War Education Project.

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS

THE RISE IN FALL

Europe's Autumn Of Dissent

As December 1983 approaches, the European peace movement is facing a moment of truth. For the past three years, the planned deployment of the first American cruise and Pershing 2 missiles has been marked as a make-or-break point for European disarmament. In Britain and West Germany, there were hopes that this year's elections would give the Labour Party and the Social Democrats the power to refuse the missiles and reverse the arms race. But right-wing governments with hawkish cold war attitudes have been elected in both countries, and there are now no more opportunities to stop the deployment of the new weapons through the ballot box.

The right has been taking the offensive, and the European mass media are predicting the peace movement's demise. The Thatcher government is so pleased with the success of its anti-disarmament propaganda drive that it is closing down the special department that was set up to direct it, Defense Secretariat 19. A spokesman for the department who appeared on British television recently announced that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was about to collapse, and described how he would relish kicking it in the head until it was finally dead.

Obstructing construction at Greenham

The peace movement, however, is very much alive, and making concerted plans for the largest wave of demonstrations ever. They will take place in the week of October 22 to 29 in major cities all over Europe—in Rome, Madrid, Athens, Lisbon, Paris, London, Amsterdam, Bonn, Stockholm, Helsinki, and Dublin, among others—and will be linked with similar activities in North America, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

As well as calling for "No cruise and Pershing 2" and for a freeze on all nuclear weapons, the demonstrations will have regional and national variations in their demands. For instance, the CND demonstration in London on October 22 will call for a non-nuclear defense policy for Britain, and other protests will link disarmament with jobs, with women's issues, and with democratic rights.

The nonviolent direct actions which are planned for important sites—for instance, the missile bases at Greenham, Comiso, Mutlangen and Florennes, NATO headquarters in Brussels and the Soviet and U.S. embassies in Bonn—promise to be imaginative, disciplined and well-attended. West German peace organizers are particularly optimistic about the turnout; some even estimate that 30 percent of the population will be on the streets. In addition to peace camps and nonviolent blockades, they are planning a women's march from Berlin to Geneva and a human chain of 100,000 people between Stuttgart and the Pershing 2 base at Neu-Ulm. There is also talk of a one-day strike by schools and universities and a seven-minute "warning" stoppage by trade unions.

The peace movement's opponents are suggesting that it will abandon its ideals of Gandhian nonviolence and start spilling blood in the streets. West German activists report that the police are receiving special training in riot control, including the use of tear gas and plastic bullets. In Britain, the media take every opportunity to paint the Greenham Common women as vicious harridans. But antinuclear protests in Europe have been extremely peaceful, and great care is being taken to make sure that these are no different. Thousands of demonstrators are attending courses in nonviolence, which emphasize the importance of keeping calm even in the face of an attack by the police.

But as winter approaches, there is a mounting sense of urgency among European peace activists. If NATO's cruise is deployed, it will inevitably be followed by a Soviet version. The program for missile deployment at Greenham, Comiso, and sites in West Germany, Belgium and Holland proceeds as if no agreement were intended at Geneva. The first weapons components were delivered to Greenham in May 1983 and 48 military personnel arrived in June. The first batch of cruise missiles is due to be installed in December and nine Pershing 2s will be in West Germany by the end of the year—unless some eleventh hour compromise allows

Where Missiles Are Headed

BRITAIN

Greenham Common, Berkshire. 96 cruise missiles, first ones officially expected December 1983, but may arrive sooner.
Molesworth, Cambridgeshire. 64 cruise missiles, expected 1986.

GERMANY

Heilbronn, Neu-Ulm, Mutlangen, all near Stuttgart. 36 Pershing 2s to each base (total 108), expected 1983-85.
Hasselbach. 96 cruise missiles. Date unknown.

Germany also expects to host, by 1988, facilities for maintaining and testing all NATO's cruise missiles.

ITALY

Comiso, Sicily. 112 cruise missiles, first ones expected December 1983.

BELGIUM

Florennes. 48 cruise missiles expected December 1985. The Belgian government has signed a construction agreement for the base, but its support for deployment is uncertain.

HOLLAND

Woensdrecht. 48 cruise missiles, expected December 1985. The government has not officially accepted cruise, and the majority of the Dutch people are opposed to deployment.

PHOTO BY ED BARBER

Activists with a mock missile in Milan

both sides to back down. If NATO agrees to a delay, the Soviets will at least have a chance to make good their recent offer to destroy some of their SS-20s.

Some European governments are pressing for postponement. Belgium may refuse deployment until there is a real commitment to success at the Geneva arms talks; the Dutch parliament has not accepted the missiles and will vote on the issue in 1984. The Norwegian government may join Denmark in refusing to pay NATO its share of the missiles' cost. But these delaying tactics can only have a limited effect, so long as the British, West German and Italian governments insist that they have a mandate to deploy cruise and Pershing.

Some peace groups in France, Norway, the Netherlands and Britain who don't believe the fall's activities will be enough to stop the missiles are beginning to cooperate around the freeze initiative. In spite of strong criticism of its limited aims, they see it as a useful holding tactic and as a way of mobilizing middle opinion. But there are many peace activists in Europe who are determined to stop the new missiles through nonviolent popular resistance, at almost any cost. As Lynne Jones, one of the Greenham Common peace campers puts it, "If you start out with the idea that civil disobedience is not going to be effective, you won't think of ideas that will really work." For everyone, the fall demonstrations will be a way to show the world the strength and commitment of the international peace movement—and a chance to give activists a sustaining boost for the long haul ahead.

—Meg Beresford

Meg Beresford is Organizing Secretary for European Nuclear Disarmament.

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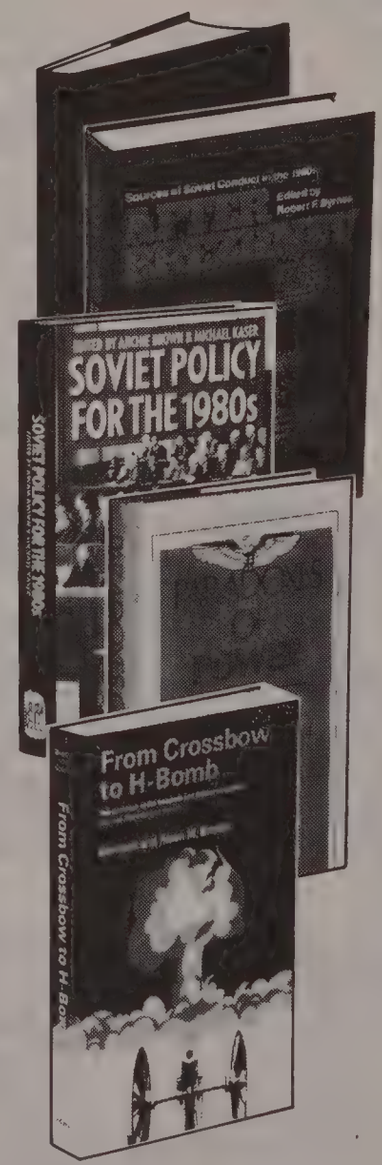

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Germany: A Declaration Of Independence

Eva Quistorp, a member of the national coordinating committee that is planning this fall's demonstrations in West Germany, spoke to NUCLEAR TIMES *assistant editor Maria Margaronis during her recent visit to New York.*

Do you think the peace movement can succeed in stopping the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany?

I'm not sure that we can stop the missiles. Paul Warnke, the former American negotiator at Geneva, told me that we can have a huge popular resistance in West Germany and do whatever we like—the Reagan administration will stick to its course. That makes me very hopeless. I think parts of the movement will get very angry and lose their trust in democratic rights and in the American administration. The peace movement is the largest political opposition we have ever had in West Germany—60 to 70 percent of the population are opposed to cruise and Pershing. The groups represented on our national coordinating committee range from Social Democrats and church people to feminist and nonviolent action groups. Even the confederation of trade unions has decided to mobilize for peace rallies for the first time since the 1950s.

We have a real feeling of colonization in West Germany—we will have 6000 warheads in our country and a lot of American chemical weapons. There is a broad popular struggle going on against them and it is just not respected.

What are the problems that the peace movement is facing?

There is a smash campaign going on against the movement. The press is full of articles saying that we will become violent, and even that nonviolent actions—like fasting for peace—are a kind of violence. This can be especially powerful on an international level, because the American public doesn't know how broad the West German peace movement is. The media will show pictures of some kid with a black scarf over his face or a burning American flag. They won't tell you, for instance, that there is a strong possibility that the Social Democrats will withdraw their agreement to the double track reso-

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lution at their party convention in November because they are disillusioned with the way the Geneva talks are going.

The government is also trying to pass a new demonstration law saying that if you are arrested in a rally, it is up to you to prove not only that you have been nonviolent, but that you have kept others from violence. Even some conservative lawyers have spoken out against this. We are afraid the police might try to prevent us from demonstrating, or try to provoke violence.

Do you have links with the independent peace movement in East Germany?

Our actions this fall are designed to show that we are not just a protest movement, but a movement for a new culture in Europe. So we will make symbolic links between embassies and between cities, and with activists in the GDR (German Democratic Republic). We have invited a speaker from the GDR to our rally in Stuttgart and Neu-Ulm on October 22, and there is a women's peace group there who are planning something for our women's disarmament day. The independent peace movement is growing in the GDR—there were 100,000 people at a recent rally there. Last month I took part in a peace workshop in an East German church. I was very impressed to see all kinds of people there—punks, and women with small children, and a group of homosexuals and lesbians. They sat and sang together, and then they had a discussion with functionaries of the state news organization and the Christian organization which is linked to the official peace committee. They talked about their opposition both to cruise and Pershing and to the deployment of more SS-20s by the Soviet Union. They were really trying to find solutions, and their discussion was very honest and very modest. I even thought they are more serious than we are in the West.

What do you think about European peace groups supporting the American freeze resolution and asking for a delay in deployment?

In a way it's very difficult for us to agree with it, because we are saying no *unconditionally* to the deployment of new missiles on our territory. But the peace movement has to work on different levels at the same time. The question of new missiles in Europe concerns everyone. It is a question of national interest in Germany, and it is a question of democracy and European independence in relation to the Reagan administration. This point is very important and it is played down by the American media. Even congresspeople who vote for the MX and oppose cuts in the military budget should listen to the freeze movement's proposal for a delay, if they have any interest at all in good relations between Europe and the United States. ☐

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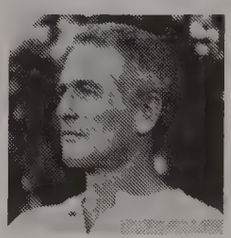

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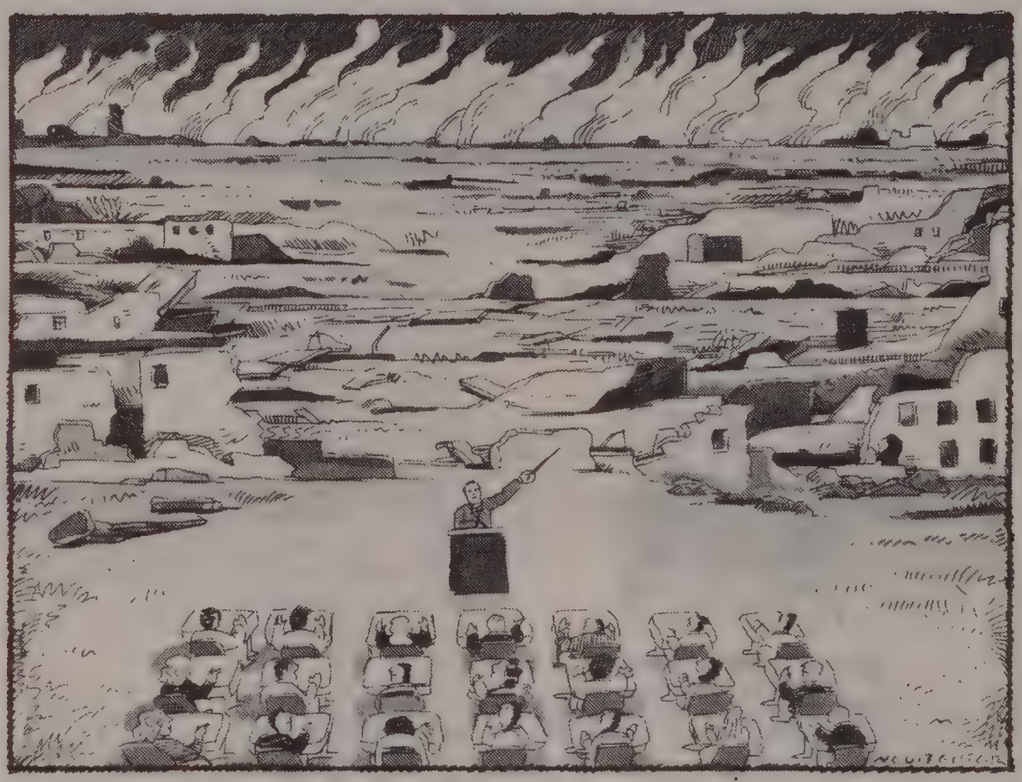

The most upsetting letters I receive are from schoolchildren who write to me as a class assignment. It's evident they've discussed the most nightmarish aspects of a nuclear holocaust in their classrooms. Their letters are full of terror. This should not be so . . . . Our children should not grow up frightened. —President Reagan

The kids are learning about Hiroshima. Their teacher, Ronnie Sydney, explains the word *hibakusha*—atomic bomb survivor—and writes it on the board. She reads an account of collapsing buildings, skin hanging from burned hands, and charred corpses soaked with radioactive rain. The kids look down or watch with wide eyes, sheared of their ninth grade Boston cool, taking in this terrible story not only as a past event, but as a possible future.

The teacher hesitates and interrupts her reading. "I didn't mean to scare you," she explains, "just to give you a sense of what it was like." The kids ask questions—"Were there babies born without limbs?" "Don't we need bombs because of the Russians?" "Would the Charles River be destroyed?"—and the pain of the immediate testament recedes. They begin discussing the size of current weapons.

President Reagan said on July 5 that the nuclear curriculum taught here is "aimed more at frightening and brainwashing American schoolchildren than at fostering learning." Entitled *Choices: A Unit on Conflict and Nuclear War*, the curriculum was developed jointly by the National Education Association and the Union of Concerned Scientists for use in junior high schools. Reagan's charges echoed those of the NEA's rival American Federation of Teachers. AFT president Albert Shanker called the unit "lopsided propaganda" containing "almost no discussion of the near-universally accepted concept of deterrence," and designed to transform innocent students into hardened disarmanent cadres.

Is the NEA really propagandizing by addressing the threat of nuclear war? And how can teachers best educate children about the issues?

BREAKING THE SILENCE

Aside from the 1950s and 1960s civil defense drills, schools have ignored the nuclear issue. The single best-selling high school history text, *The Rise Of The American Nation*, by Lewis Todd and Merle Curtis, gives atomic weapons one 64-word paragraph, recounting the number of Hiroshima dead and explaining only that "A new force had been added to warfare, a force that would enormously complicate the post-war world." Neither this book nor its major competitors make more than perfunctory reference to the steady development of weapons since the original devices were exploded. Two of the top four texts fail even to mention the H-bomb. As a result, schools have supported the prevailing silence about nuclear war, and it is just not seen as an appropriate subject for discussion. Although many kids fear a holocaust, they've never addressed its possibility in class. Like the rest of us, they've been assured that the matter is being taken care of.

The new nuclear curricula—the NEA's *Choices* and a variety of others now being developed *(see box, p. 27)*—confront the issue head-on. They discuss what nuclear war would be like, how the weapons buildup has come about, and our options for preventing catastrophe. In the first lesson of *Choices*, the Hiroshima story gives "the threat" a human meaning through the memories of the *hibakusha*. It acts as a call and a warning, framing the later sections on Cold War history and arms race economics, conflict resolution and disarmament options—the choices that lead toward or away from its terminal implications. The teaching methods involve kids directly in decision making through games and role playing. The emphasis is on how understanding and imagination can help to make a better world.

The new curriculum does not wholly disrupt school conventions. Kids still ask about tests and requirements, complain about having to keep classroom journals, and do their best to maintain their flip, tough, flirty, punky, or even just doggedly studious stances. But where other courses look towards a time when the kids will leave the world of the classroom and become adult actors and creators, the nuclear lessons warn that their future may be obliterated.

The lessons pass, of course, and the kids go out into the halls, slamming their battered metal lockers and teasing their friends. But they have learned to name previously shapeless fears, and perhaps even to turn them to strength. While many of the kids will still cling to their

ILLUSTRATION BY ROBERT NEUBECKER

trust in government leaders or to the fatalism that insists that they are powerless, others will bring up the atomic issue with their families and friends, perhaps for the first time. And some will start high school peace groups, write letters, hold forums and join the dissent of a broader community—like the Cambridge, Massachusetts, senior who organized a busload of kids to attend the June 12 rally, coordinated a regional student conference, and later co-taught the course that initially stirred her interest.

Is this kind of teaching propaganda? If kids are exposed only to the lessons in *Choices*, they might need the counterbalance of material advocating weapons buildup to help them understand rationalizations of the arms race (such as the deterrence theory). But the nuclear unit does not confront kids in a vacuum. It questions assumptions already created by *Time* and CBS, by history books that explain how Truman had no choice but to drop the Bomb, by a web of intimations that our present path is inevitable.

"There is no question about it, the curriculum is biased for a nuclear freeze," said Bruce Feiderstein, a social studies teacher in the Brighton Public Schools outside Rochester, New York, at the height of the *Choices* controversy earlier this year. "But what's wrong with telling kids that nuclear war is wrong?" Or as Roberta Snow, coordinator of the high school teaching guide *Decision Making in a Nuclear Age*, recently put it, "All we really want is to help kids think critically about the most significant issue they may face in their lifetime."

RESISTING THE MISSIONARY IMPULSE

The educators who drew up the nuclear curricula believe that citizen involvement is a good thing. But they are still concerned about the danger of forcing their own beliefs on students. During a two-hour Educators for Social Responsibility discussion in Boston last January, several teachers said they cared too much about the issues to mask their voices in a false neutrality, but also wanted to avoid being missionaries.

As one ESR member explained, "I have a personal desire to do something really quickly on the issue, but also feel it's wrong to enlist young people in the cause. So I use materials from PSR, but also from Committee on the Present Danger. I hope as a citizen they'll choose PSR, but also hope the kids will be able to challenge my assumptions."

Another participant pointed out that strong personal opinions can actually spur discussion and disagreement. "The best teachers I ever had were very committed to a particular point of view, a particular topic or particular authors, but not in a closed way," she said. "They were open to hearing other people . . . and invited students to go through that process with them . . . . If there isn't any commitment, there isn't any education; there's just an accretion of knowledge." In the words of ESR co-founder Shelley Berman, the important thing is not to convey a monolithic viewpoint, but "a way of looking at everything in the world and assessing it and evaluating it." That way, the kids are encouraged to question their teachers' assumptions as well as their own. And the nuclear lessons can be used as a window to broader issues, an entry, as Berman said, "to exploring

A Choice, Not An Echo

The controversy about *Choices*, the UCS/NEA junior high school unit on nuclear war, began back in December before the curriculum had even been published. The right-wing magazine *Human Events* got hold of the first draft, did a blind interview with the NEA's teacher education program manager Robert McClure, and published a scare story about how antinuclear activists were trying to brainwash America's children.

At first, the attacks were confined to the radical right-wing press, but in April a *Washington Post* editorial called the curriculum "political indoctrination." Criticism followed from Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, from the Education Department and, at the AFT's annual convention, from Ronald Reagan. The main accusations leveled against *Choices* are that it is full of emotive horror stories, that it doesn't address the concept of deterrence, that it gives an inaccurate picture of the Soviet Union's role in world politics, and that it advocates "political activity" (such as writing to members of Congress to find out their views).

McClure explains that UCS and the NEA actually took great care to make sure the curriculum was balanced. The first draft was tested by 47 teachers around the country and then altered to remove bias, according to their recommendations. "Since then," he says, "We have had no complaints at all from teachers, students or parents." He believes that the mainspring of the controversy has been the rivalry between the NEA and the AFT. The NEA, the second largest union in the country, is generally much more liberal than its counterpart and is expected to endorse a Democrat for President in 1984. **—Maria Margaronis**

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questions of justice, global awareness, our own aggression and violence."

Many teachers find that the best way to teach balanced classes without compromising their own beliefs is to bring up contrasting viewpoints in a way that doesn't imply their endorsement. Boston teacher Ronnie Sydney tells her class about an argument she had on the nuclear issue with her father. Others counterpose extra reading material or bring in outside speakers. And all try to create an atmosphere where the kids can express diverse ideas without feeling attacked.

MID-COURSE CORRECTION

I saw an example of this in Sydney's classroom when a kid named Keith defended armed strength as the sole path to security. He didn't think we'd see a war in his time, but if we did, he said, we should have a strong defense "so we'd be able to wipe them out." He explained that "a nuclear war and building up arms are two different things." He believed in "peace through competition."

Sydney encouraged his comments, drawing him out, and remarking, "you said it so well." Other students argued back, and Keith held his ground all the more firmly, taking the stance of a patriot beseiged by insurgents. He wasn't cowed, and when a CBS crew covering *Choices* came to film a news segment in the classroom, he had another kid wear his red, white and blue windbreaker with the letters USA, so it would show on television. In his own interview, he told the camera, "If Russia keeps going then *we* should," then added that he liked the class and thought it fair and interesting.

The NEA unit succeeded here both in making room for Keith's beliefs and in encouraging others toward active questioning and involvement. And Sydney's kids rated the *Choices* lessons the highest of any in their semester-long "Law and Society" course. This success was due in large part to her teaching. But the curriculum gave her a roadmap—a tool to begin a new dialogue and discuss what had not been discussed before. Unlike teachers clinging to the objective verities of the three Rs, those involved with the peace curricula do not know all the answers. Given that they are as vulnerable as their students to the threat they discuss, their task is to use their experience and teaching skill to make this common vulnerability a spur to learning and engagement—and to help kids address a world where previous guarantees (for instance, that children of succeeding generations will sit and learn in classrooms such as these) can no longer be taken as givens. **—Paul Loeb**

Paul Loeb is the author of Nuclear Culture: Living and Working in the World's Largest Atomic Complex *(Coward, McCann & Geoghegan), to be re-released this winter by South End Press. He is working on a new book on the grass-roots peace movement.*

CURRICULA

Classrooms Up On Arms

Dialogue: A Teaching Guide to Nuclear Issues. Shelley Berman, coordinator. Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, $12.95. A 250-page manual containing curriculum ideas, suggestions on how to introduce nuclear education into schools, and an extensive resource guide.

Perspectives: A Teaching Guide to Concepts of Peace. K-12, Shelley Berman, coordinator, ESR, $12.95. A teaching guide on personal, social and international peace.

Decision Making in a Nuclear Age. High School, Roberta Snow, coordinator, ESR, $12.95. A 3-12 week curriculum designed "to promote an understanding of nuclear weapons within the context of human beings making choices."

Choices: A Unit on Conflict and Nuclear War. 9-12, Union of Concerned Scientists with the Massachusetts Teachers Association and National Education Association. Available from UCS, 26 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02238, $9.95 *(see p. 26)*.

An Approach to Peace Education #6. 4-8, National Committee for UNICEF, 331 E. 38 Street, New York, NY 10016, $6. A curriculum on peoples around the world, human rights and the arms race.

Crossroads-Quality of Life in a Nuclear World. High School, Jobs with Peace Education Task force, 77 Summer Street, Boston MA 02110. Social Studies, English and science curricula on the nuclear arms race. $2 each or $5 for set of three.

Educating for Peace and Justice: A Manual for Teachers. All levels, volumes I - III for $9, volume IV, $5. I. National Dimensions, II. Global Dimensions, III. Religious Dimensions, IV. Teacher Background Readings. The Institute for Peace and Justice, 4144 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, MO 63108.

Peace Child-A Study Guide for Schools. All levels, Peace Child Foundation, P O Box 33169, Washington DC 20033. Guide $12.50, pack containing guide, cassette and Bernard Benson's Peace Book, $30. A curriculum on nuclear war structured around a musical play.

NUCLEAR EDUCATION

STOP Fighting In Schools

You would think that kids who spend a good deal of their time pondering nuclear annihilation would be pensive types with premature wrinkles. But the crowd of teenagers gathered on a pastoral campus in Northfield, Massachusetts, for the second annual conference of STOP (Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War) could hardly be described as melancholy. These kids are suntanned and barefoot, most dressed in jeans and T-shirts, others in colorful skirts and trendy *Flashdance* tatters. They laugh a lot and swill Coke. So where are all the furrowed brows? "We tend not to dwell on death too much," explains 18-year-old STOP intern Rebecca Plaut. "We're concentrating on *stopping* it."

The 104 conference participants—an egalitarian mixture of shy, "brainy" students, teachers in Birkenstock sandals, and kids with the nonchalant confidence of student council presidents—are scattered around Northfield Mount Hermon School's Tracy Hall in groups of six and seven. They exchange stories of how they first became concerned about nuclear weapons.

"I changed my priorities when I heard Dean Hammer of Plowshares 8 talking once," says Cindy Shannon, STOP's program director at its national office in Northfield. "He said that each nuclear weapon is an Auschwitz or a Dachau."

"For me, it was like osmosis, because my parents are activists and they support the freeze," says Holly, a high school senior with waist-length braids from Concord, Massachusetts.

Michael Stanek comes from Pocatello, Idaho, where trains carrying parts for Trident missiles, bound for Bangor, Washington, pass through. "It's spooky," the high school senior says. "I don't like living in fear. Doing something like being in STOP helps me believe in the future."

Christopher Austill is a boyish-looking teacher in his 30s from Cambridge, Massachusetts. "Some of my earliest memories are of air-raid sirens in my school," he says. "Those sirens scared the shit out of me. Now I hear my four-year-old students on the playground imitating planes and saying, 'Let's play Hiroshima.' It's all around us. Even tiny kids know that something big is out there."

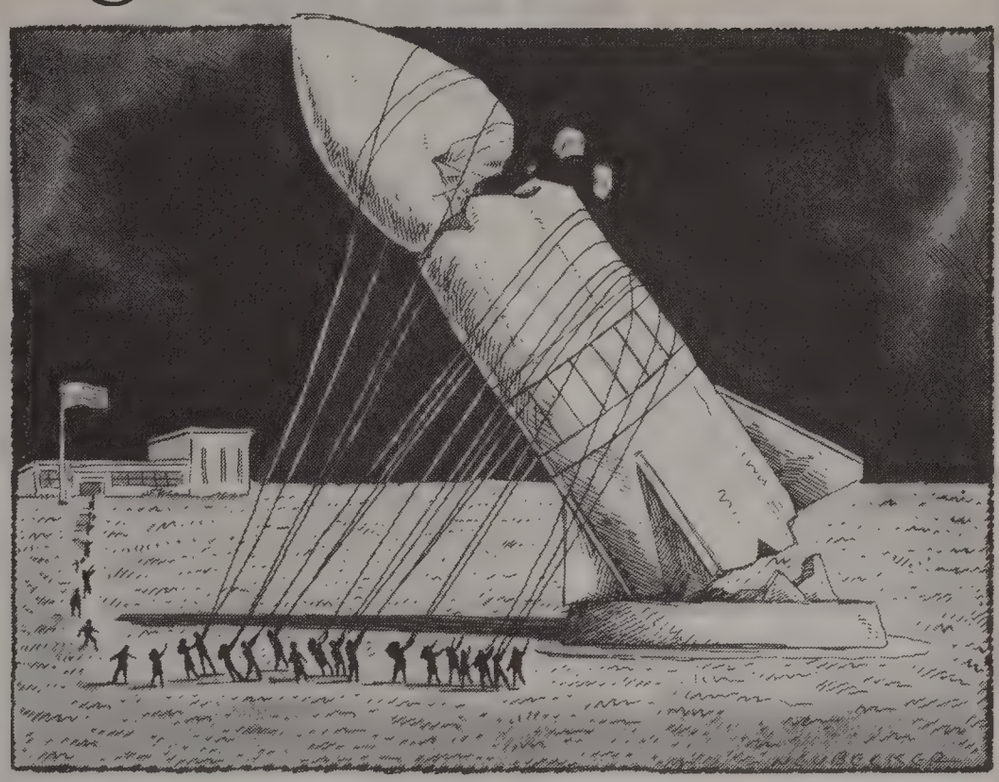

ILLUSTRATION BY ROBERT NEUBECKER

THE KIDS ARE ALRIGHT

The Reverend Jim Antal, founder and executive director of STOP, watches groups of students and teachers in Tracy Hall discussing what gives them hope ("Getting rid of Reagan," for example) and recounts STOP's short history. STOP started after a week of disarmament activities in Northfield in 1981, Antal says. "A student came up with the name, and another student gave us $1000 to get started," he adds. "So we got letterhead stationery and started acting like we were a national organization."

STOP does not hold the patent on high school peace activism, of course. Students unaffiliated with STOP, for example, created a stir in Madison, Wisconsin, when they declared their high school a nuclear free zone. Another group in Philadelphia threatened to sue their school board for not allowing them to use a football field for a peace rally; the lawsuit was averted only when a local Quaker school donated an alternative site for the rally. The Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, a student group based in New Haven, Connecticut, was responsible for delivering over 8000 pro-disarmament letters to the White House from children all over the country in 1981 and 82. And local groups, such as Kids' Outreach in New York City and Students Against War in Shelburne, Massachusetts, are springing up in many states.

But as STOP's Antal puts it: "I knew we were the only high school disarmament group around with national aspirations, so I wasn't worried about stepping on anyone's toes."

Since January 1982 STOP has grown from three to 82 chapters, with 2000 members in 37 states taking part in extra-curricular activities. Over a year ago, the group was endorsed by the National Education Association. "Our main mission now," says Antal, "is to get students out there and organizing as peace-workers. They're perfect for the job; they're not worried about careers yet, and they're full of energy and vision."

Dr. Wally Burnstein from New Jersey, who accompanied his son to the STOP conference, adds: "Kids can get through to adults, whether they be parents or politicians. Teenagers are very adept at surprising adults—making them forget their conditioned opinions for a moment." With that in mind, Burnstein has invited 16-year-old Vali Rajah from New York City to be the opening speaker at a Physicians for Social Responsibility conference in New Jersey in October.

STOP just spent $13,000 training students to be community peace organizers; for the three days preceeding the annual conference, 13 students and four teachers from 12 states were part of the group's first Leadership Conference. "It was fantastic," says newly-elected board member Vali Rajah. "We've set up a student network of communication; we can link faces with names. We'll be a lot more efficient now." *(Continued on page 30.)*

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• COVER •

POLITICAL "FOOTBALL"?

In another bid for efficiency, a good deal of conference time was devoted to swapping stories about accomplishments—and problems—that STOP chapters have encountered.

One success story: The Amherst, Massachusetts, STOP chapter designed and had printed thousands of pro-disarmament book covers to be sold in schools. "They sure beat those armed forces covers," one student commented. Another STOP activist, Dominique David, an 11th grader from Louisville, Kentucky, helped organize a nuclear education outreach program to local schools. "A lot of high school administrators acted like we were presenting anti-government propaganda, and dwelling on just one side of the story. My response to that is, 'hey, you're *living* the other side!' " Dominique says that once his group got past the red tape and into the classrooms, "the kids were all for us. We really got through to a lot of them. Because we're all kids, there's a ready-made common bond."

Other STOP chapters successfully mobilized support to reject local crisis relocation plans. Kids in Connecticut and Massachusetts have staged dramatic simulations of the effects of a nuclear blast 12 miles from ground zero, complete with charred cars, broken windows, and bodies strewn about. A STOP chapter in Seattle sent members to the Soviet Union, and others sponsored "Russian Weeks" at their schools. This summer, STOP students across the country handed out leaflets to patrons of the movie *WarGames* ("Do You Know What Is Scarier Than The Movie *WarGames*?" it asked. "The Truth!").

What about problems? "We've run across several stop STOP groups," says Warren Goldstein, STOP's field director from Chicago. STOP members are instructed to make opposition groups work to their advantage by seizing the opportunity to clarify their own positions, toughen their arguments, and, perhaps, even win over a few skeptics.

But the most pressing problems facing STOP are not unlike those facing the peace movement as a whole: diversity and numbers.

Dominique David looks around Tracy Hall at the hundred STOP members and sees only three or four other blacks. "It's commonly known that this organization is made up mostly of middle-class white people," he says. "Blacks and Hispanics and other minorities are so involved with their own survival they think that if the Bomb was dropped tomorrow it would probably be a blessing and solve their problems." The prognosis for alleviation

of the problem in the near future does not look hopeful. "At this point," says Rebecca Plaut, "with just one black board member and an all-white staff based here in Northfield, I just don't know if we're even *qualified* to deal with serious outreach."

Another major problem facing STOP is apathy. Steve Hegarty from Long Meadow, Massachusetts, speaks for many when he observes that most of the kids in his school are more concerned with drinking beer and souping up their cars than with nuclear annihilation.

"We're still working with a relatively small number of students," says STOP board member Dick Mayo-Smith, who is also a member of Educators for Social Responsibility. "There are certainly not hundreds and thousands of high school kids out there rising up and shouting, 'We must stop this insanity!' "

What's keeping them away? Students and teachers can only guess. Some attribute it to youthful narcissism, others to fear and hopelessness; many say that the students' loss of faith in the democratic process—and their role in it—is at the root of this passivity. But no one is really sure. *(Continued on page 32.)*

ESR'S "CRITICAL" APPROACH

Do Activism And Education Mix?

This year, 10th grade students in New York City will regularly discuss nuclear issues. The Cambridge, Massachusetts, school board has voted to institute nuclear education for students from kindergarten through 12th grade. And in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, peace studies and arms control are now established parts of public school education.

The teachers who lobbied successfully for nuclear curricula in these cities belong to Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR), a national organization of 4000 members in 32 states. ESR was formed in 1981 to help guide teachers through the new—and often discouragingly complex—process of Nuclear Age education; the national office in Cambridge fields hundreds of inquiries each week from educators. The group is primarily concerned with developing "age-appropriate" nuclear curricula and fostering classroom discussion about war and peace. "This is a matter of breaking a long silence," says Roberta Snow, the group's president. "The kids are thirsty for this information."

But there are fundamental problems posed by mixing activism with education. ESR's detractors—some parents, fellow teachers, and administrators—claim that its members are brainwashing the students of America with antinuclear dogma. "Obviously, we are an organization committed, by our nature, to peace," says ESR's executive director Tony Wagner. "Outside of the classroom, our members are encouraged to be active in whatever ways possible to reduce the threat of nuclear war. But as educators in the classroom we have a clear professional commitment to present divergent points of view and to promote a dialogue. If we create a generation that is as rabid about peace as some say the Pentagon is about war, then we've failed—we've just substituted one ideology for another." In order to promote the kind of creative and critical thinking that will enable students to make informed choices about nuclear issues, members of ESR hold classroom debates (between students or between visiting experts), and present government films on defense along with antinuclear films. "We are certainly not trying to get students to adopt any one viewpoint," Roberta Snow says.

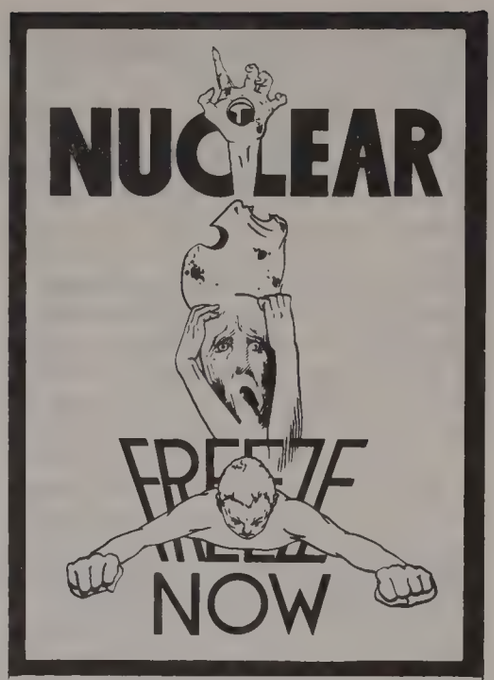
ESR chapters across the country hold regular conferences and workshops, punctuated by national events. On October 25, 1982, the group sponsored a National Day of Dialogue, where parents and teachers listened to children's concerns about nuclear war and discussed appropriate ways of taking the subject into the classroom. This November, ESR is cosponsoring the National Week of Education.

Local chapters of ESR have been effective on various fronts:

- In California, as a result of ESR lobbying efforts, eight school districts and the archdiocese of San Francisco have barred the use of the Federal Emergency Management Agency's curriculum, which teaches that nuclear war is survivable.
- In Boston, ESR members have formed a speakers bureau which provides trained lecturers on nuclear issues for school faculties, church and student groups, and parents and peace organizations.
- In Chicago, ESR members have designed a nuclear education pilot training program for teachers called "How Do I Answer the Questions?" which provides resource materials and trained personnel for small groups.

Tony Wagner sees reason for optimism. "We are going to reverse the educational malaise that's hit the country because we're beginning to address the real issues," Wagner says. "Hopefully, before long, peace will be a word that doesn't sound soft and ill-defined, but practical, and realistic, and, most of all, possible."

—Renata Rizzo



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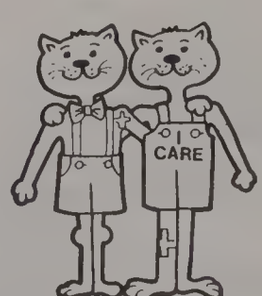

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Carrie Sauter, a high school student from Grand Forks, North Dakota, will be fighting a lonely battle when she goes home to form a STOP Chapter. "All my friends' parents are really into Ronald Reagan, and since we have the Grand Forks Air Force Base right near us, when you try to talk to kids about stopping nuclear war, they think you're trying to put their parents out of work." Being at the STOP conference, though, has given Carrie new optimism. "I believe I can convince people that nuclear war is more important than football," she says. "I'll just have to be real careful not to come on too strong."

THE STOP GAP

For other students, though, Sauter's cautious approach to consciousness raising—an approach advocated by STOP itself—is a source of frustration. "Education is important," says John Bonifaz, who entered Brown University in the fall, "but sitting around talking about facts, figures, and feelings cannot take the place of action in the political arena." As a nonprofit organization, STOP is restricted in the amount of lobbying it can do, but Bonifaz believes the group should be concentrating on voter registration, not lobbying. "High school kids could do an incredible amount of community organizing in that area," he says. "They've got the time and the energy."

Bonifaz is a member of SAVE Our Future, the new campus voter-registration group (*see page 37*), and with STOP member Jon Klavens delivered over 10,000 pro-freeze signatures to congressmen on Capitol Hill in June. "We did that on our own—no adults were involved," Bonifaz says proudly.

Adult-student relations have been filled with an "ongoing tension," according to Warren Goldstein. "It's healthy, though," Goldstein says. "The kids see limitless possibilities; we bring them down to earth and show them the obstacles. Together we cover it all."

STOP actually started as a group of adults "trying to figure out what would be best for students," recalls Mayo-Smith. "Now, I find myself very aware of prepositions—doing something *with* students as opposed to doing something *for* them."

The STOP conference is a handy example of the organization's structure in action. Andrea Ayvazian, STOP's assistant director, notes that every major decision for the conference was made bilaterally. Workshops and large assemblies were typically led by one student and one adult, demanding diplomacy from each.

THE NEW MATH

The STOP conference is drawing to a close, and participants are sprawled in the grass writing promises on bright scraps of paper that will be fashioned into a long chain. "I will educate my friends," writes one student. "I'll form a STOP chapter in my school," promises another. "I'll join UCAM in college," writes a third.

In the year ahead, STOP will be concentrating on recruiting new members and educating those not involved. "We need numbers," says Jim Antal. "We need numbers for power."

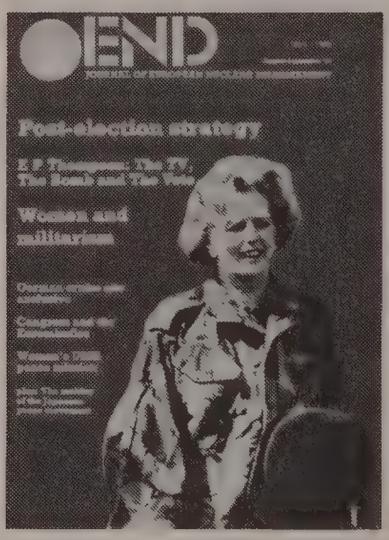
An elderly couple, cycling through the Northfield campus, suddenly stops, apparently surprised by an unusual sight on the hills below: A hundred people, arms linked, are slowly weaving across the fields. The woman looks at her companion as if to say: What's *that?*

They watch and listen as the chain of people slowly disappears and the song that they're singing grows barely audible:

"We're gonna lay down our swords and shields, Down by the riverside, Ain't gonna study war no more . . ."

—Renata Rizzo

How To Prevent War In Europe



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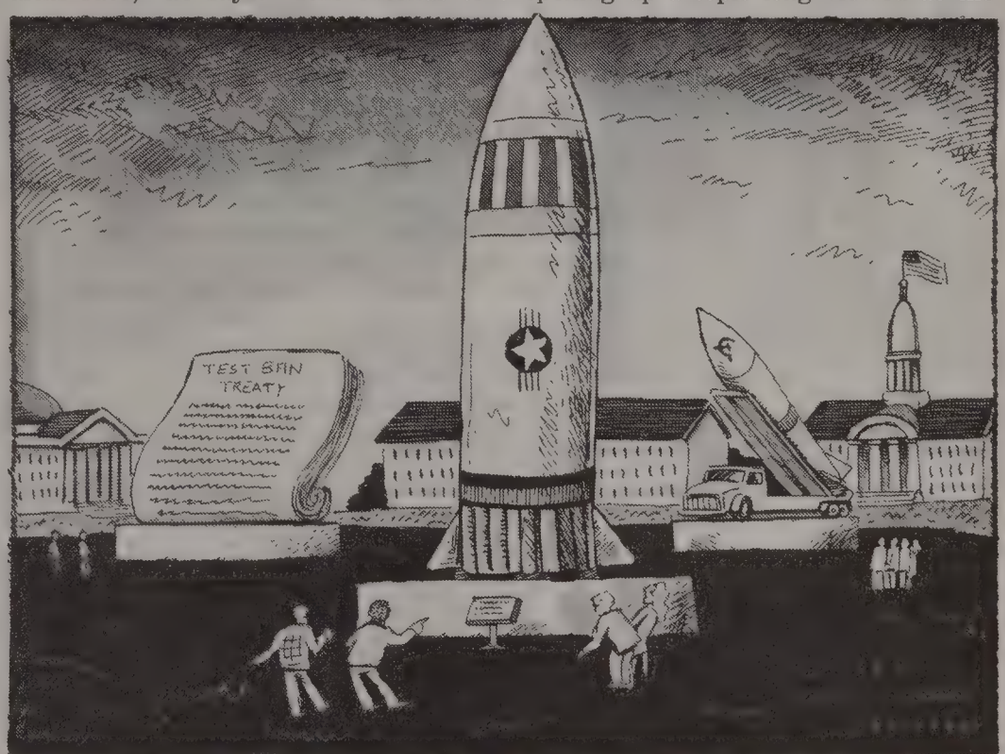
NUCLEAR EDUCATION

Colleges On The Right Course?

As students returned to college this fall, many found a new offering in their catalogs, something that might be called a nuclear war course. It can appear in any of a number of departments: physics, religion, economics, political science, philosophy, English or math. Even more likely—an interdisciplinary survey. In one form or another, the nuclear question is alive on campus.

A network of students and faculty called UCAM (United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War) now lists 61 nuclear-related courses on every level and in every part of the country. The trend is almost too young to have a name, but many are calling it nuclear education. Still in the process of definition, nuclear education is already showing great diversity. An American University course explores the links between nuclear power and proliferation; a course at Arizona State is on "the nature of humanity in the atomic age"; and Seymour Melman teaches a course at Columbia on military spending and conversion to a civilian economy. Nuclear strategy is being incorporated into classes on defense policy and the ethics of war, while sociology and history courses are also taking up the subject. Three English courses listed by UCAM use books on nuclear war as a vehicle to teach writing.



THE MISSILE GAP

This sudden explosion rectifies a long-standing shortcoming of American schools. For a variety of reasons—including the Vietnam War's domination of foreign policy discussions and a general unwillingness to confront the end of the world—nuclear issues have been absent on the college level for almost two decades. Arms control itself was subsumed into foreign policy studies (which in turn underwent plummeting enrollments in the late 1960s), where it was taught in a manner most kindly described as traditional.

Some time around the Cuban Missile Crisis, says Columbia University's Seymour Melman, "all the ideas around arms race reversal were caused to go down the memory hole," to be replaced at schools by strategic courses. "As two generations of young people came through the universities, trained [to think] there was nothing around but the arms race, or the regulation of the arms race—arms control—the very *idea* of the *reversal* of the arms race got lost."

Among the consequences of this neglect was a general public ignorant of nuclear issues. For years, says Daniel Ellsberg, no one in his lecture audiences could explain the difference between an A-bomb and an H-bomb. "Until the freeze movement, there was widespread ignorance of the simplest facts of the arms race," he says. "This extends to journalists, congressmen, and people in the antinuclear movement."

The cause of disarmament was also severely hurt. While graduate centers for studying arms control did exist, many feel they functioned, in Ellsberg's words, "to produce more useful components in the arms race"—a bias reflected in the title of a new book by several Harvard professors, *Living with Nuclear Weapons*. Randall Forsberg has said she was the only person in her Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) doctoral program who even seemed to know the word "disarmament." And while Forsberg's colleagues went off to jobs in the Pentagon and government, peace studies programs lingering from the 1960s were admitting in their brochures that few jobs for peacemakers existed.

Disarmament *is* hard to teach, says Coit Blacker, associate director of Stanford's Center for International Security and Arms Control. "It doesn't lend itself well to instructon," Blacker explains, "partly because there's not much history to go on."

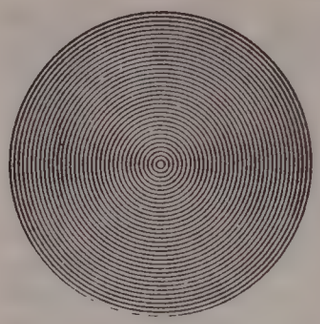
Many other barriers exist to instituting nuclear-ed courses. Since the field is new, faculty members lack basic text books and incentive. Teachers must also balance a controversial topic and fend off charges of bias. Limited resources and conservatism inhibit any major new course. And as Stanford's Blacker notes, opening up a topic long viewed as the province of a select group of academic experts means asking that group to yield a little territory.

Above all, the very vastness of the topic hampers growth. A typical nuclear survey—what UCAM calls "a basic course"—would include the effects of nuclear war, the history of the arms race, new weapons and doctrine, and past arms control efforts. It may also touch on the technology of the Bomb and the moral and psychological aspects of the arms race. But where in the curriculum would such a course fit? And who is qualified to teach it? Given their usual sense of objectivity, scientists are often uncomfortable teaching courses with ethical and moral components. Other teachers may not have the time, or inclination, to master technical details.

A CLASS BIAS?

A common solution is for the course to be team-taught. One example on the grand scale is underway at Houston's Rice University, where professor

ILLUSTRATION BY ROBERT NEUBECKER



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• COVER •

Stephen Klineberg has gathered 15 lecturers "from electrical engineering to philosophy" for a course called "Sanity and Survival: Perspectives on the Nuclear Age." Students originally suggested the course to Klineberg and then helped him recruit faculty. "Everyone we spoke to was delighted about the course and eager to help shape it," he says. As a text, his students will read two *Scientific American* readers, the two Ground Zero paperbacks, and *Living with Nuclear Weapons.*

At the new Peace and Social Justice Program at Tufts, projects include an innovative teaching award to foster faculty interest, and the creation of peace concentrations within departments. Yet director Robert Elias admits he encounters "the sense that such programs are biased and activist in orientation. And in a way they *are* activist, if you think the university's mission is to help solve human problems." About the problem of suspicious trustees, Elias advises: "Get the best and most respected professors involved from the start. Try to get outside funding. And try to avoid discussions about the university's role."

Other helpful tips may come out of an ambitious survey of students and nuclear-ed faculty to be conducted on at least 30 campuses later this year by International Student Pugwash (ISP). This organization, which has sponsored several major conferences but is just now forming campus chapters, feels that there has been an absence of discussion about the purposes and methods of teaching nuclear war courses. "We feel it is critical that we not only get the nuclear issue on educators' agenda but that we insure the *quality* of what actually gets taught," says Jeff Leifer, an ISP founder. "And we want to see if the courses are getting so political that faculty and parents can gang up on them."

Even in its infancy, nuclear education is struggling with an image problem. George Perkovich, former executive director of ISP, feels the media is hurting nuclear-ed—by simplifying it, playing up charges of indoctrination, and linking it too closely with antinuclear sentiment among students. Most professors agree that the commitment of faculty and administrators is more crucial for instituting these courses than student demand. Students may take the issues more seriously once they're sanctified by faculty.

"Undergrad courses are being taken by people who don't know anything and are tremendously anxious to learn," says physics professor Aron Bernstein at MIT. "This includes many who support the government position. It's not uncommon in these classes to have very heated

debates."

It's also quite common for one of the co-teachers to represent military training on campus. "War and Peace in the Nuclear Age," a highly popular course at Cornell, is taught by a government professor, by the campus head of Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and by physics professor Peter Stein, who is also national UCAM chairman. "We made a very conscious effort to make sure the course was balanced," says Stein. "After all, there's no admission charge for a Physicians for Social Responsibility symposium, but this course costs students $1000."

Several groups are promoting this process. Teachers interested in developing peace curricula can turn to UCAM (*see box below*) or United Ministries, a group associated with Columbia University's Teachers College in New York, which can provide a core text and a self-assessment kit to help educators evaluate the "peace component" of their existing courses.

There's also an establishment to turn to, housed in the graduate centers funded in 1973 by the Ford Foundation. In the last decade, Ford has spent $17 million to encourage international security and arms control in the United States, with the bulk going to programs at Harvard, Cornell, MIT and Stanford. It's to these schools—which range in orientation from MIT's defense analysis to Cornell's Peace Studies Program—that students interested in further education will probably head.

A BERLITZ CREED

Publication of the Harvard book—which many antinuclear activists feel teaches benign acceptance of the arms race—has fired the debate over exactly what these programs teach. "These schools train people to be hired," says Ellsberg, who has taught on the arms race at Stanford and will lecture this year at Harvard and at California Irvine. "The criticism they encourage is the kind acceptable to administrations. Maybe a student will write on waste in the Pentagon budget. That critique involves the way goals are implemented, but not the goals themselves." *(Continued on page 36.)*

UCAM'S ANTIDOTE TO APATHY

Giving It The New College Try

It has often been said that, unlike the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s, the antinuclear movement is not led by students. United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War (UCAM), which now has chapters at over 50 colleges (and individual contacts at more than 500 others), is attempting to light a fire under the so-called "apathetic" generation. It hasn't been easy.

"Students today are strongly preoccupied with jobs and careers, and this inhibits their involvement in the issue," says Sandy Gottlieb, executive director of UCAM. "Also, a lot of students want to have a good time in college, and thinking about mass death is no picnic."

But UCAM is more than a national student group; its supporters also include professors and college staff. (Its board of directors consists of 13 students and 14 faculty.) The group, which grew out of the nationwide teach-ins organized by the Union of Concerned Scientists in 1981, promotes the introduction of nuclear curricula in its monthly newsletter, publishes a summary of nuclear war courses available in colleges, functions as a clearinghouse for nuclear education resources, and encourages local chapters to hold conferences. UCAM is now assembling a packet of materials designed to help those interested in teaching courses on nuclear war deal with wary school administrators.

UCAM has been able to raise the issue of arms control in regions where very little support has been shown in the past. "We have as many chapters in the South and Southwest as we do in the Northeast," says Gottlieb. One of UCAM's strongest chapters is in Birmingham, Alabama, where members make regular visits to their congressmen and local high schools, and are developing close working relationships with the city's black ministers.

The group's lobbying arm in Washington, D.C., (where Gottlieb is based) works on behalf of the freeze and against the MX. A pro-freeze petition drawn up by students and professors at Massachusetts Institute of Technology was circulated on hundreds of campuses and sent to members of Congress. "The petition led to a real dialogue between UCAM members and Senator [William] Cohen on the build down idea," says Gottlieb.

UCAM is now gearing up for the 1984 elections by preparing an assessment of presidential candidates. The group is also working closely with SAVE Our Future, a student voter registration group, to arrange travel through New Hampshire and Iowa for experts who will encourage local activists to ask candidates the right questions about arms control.

—Renata Rizzo

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—*Nuclear Times*, May 1983

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Natalie Goldring, a Ph.D. candidate at MIT's Center for International Studies, observes: "This is a tough program psychologically for someone who believes in disarmament. There's a continuum in the field—people at one end tend not to believe in deterrence at all, while the other end believes in it very strongly. The arms controllers come in the middle."

Last summer, those in the middle began reaching out to newer teachers, at the Harvard/MIT Workshop on Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control. Attended mostly by teachers from small colleges, this two-week session was designed as a sort of nuclear Berlitz course; its presenters (including several contributors to the Harvard book) spoke from a centrist, "arms control establishment" position.

The problem, according to its executive director, William Durch, is that "a matter-of-fact delivery can come across as acceptance. The people who attended were, for the most part, as disgruntled with academic experts as with the right wing, and worse, lumped them together. So the old-line arms controllers were seen as part of the problem, whereas they've thought of themselves for years as struggling for a solution. You have to know the nuts and bolts to affect policy—there's a tremendous amount of information to digest. Still, there's no denying the clinical approach met with a minor revolt."

Coit Blacker feels anti-arms race sentiment may have an effect on the way graduate courses are taught. "When arms control is in a slack period, it's easier to teach in traditional ways. The students coming in now are forcing us to be more imaginative and comprehensive. We spend more time discussing the psychology of the arms race—that it's not inevitable, that there were and will be points in the process where it could be turned around."

It remains to be seen where the students flooding into these courses will make their impact. Almost no one foresees a repeat of 1960s protest; Bernstein notes that the weekly vigil at Cambridge's Draper Lab is "marked by an absence of MIT students." And while it's now possible to major in peace studies at several schools, the programs seem directed to the kind of conflict resolution skills equally geared to prison reform and family crisis centers as to arms negotiations.

On the undergraduate level, most educators describe their goal as an informed citizenry, capable of understanding all sides of an issue such as the MX. UCAM director Sanford Gottlieb says that a grounding in history will also help voters appreciate their own importance, since arms control has had as much to do with public pressure as with international tension.

Another common goal is to institutionalize courses as permanent offerings while public opinion, notoriously episodic on arms issues, is still strong. "The hope," says Blacker, "is that study of the significance of nuclear weapons will become an inherent part of any good liberal education."

Will it be possible to emerge from grad school and fight the arms race? "Most of our graduates go to the State Department, to Rand, to teach at the armed service academies," says Goldring. Yet Goldring works part-time for the Union of Concerned Scientists and likes to point out that Randall Forsberg plans to return to MIT to finish her doctorate. Bernstein adds that it's possible now for a "small minority " to make a living in the opposition—as a writer or scholar, or within public interest science.

"I know several grad students in the field," says Peter Stein. "One is writing now on disarmament issues. The other has a nice summer job with the CIA."

—Cathy Cevoli

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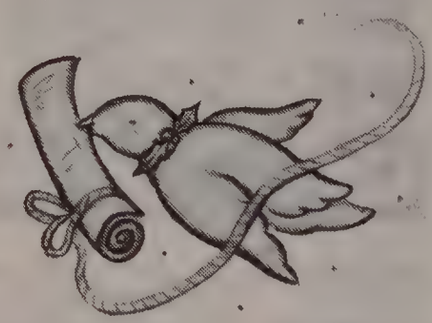

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In Short

Kid Flicks: A Triple Feature

Kids say the darnedest things—especially when they hear their elders talk about the possibility of nuclear war. Three new films depict children's reactions to the nuclear threat in very different ways.

In one haunting slow-motion image from the beautiful *Bombs Will Make the Rainbow Break*, a boy propels himself off a swing and falls onto grass, while an exploding bomb roars on the sound track. Grade school kids, mostly in New York

City, go on to describe the world adults have bequeathed them. "They're always encouraging kids not to have violence, not to fight," says one child in a playground. "Well, this is encouraging us more. They're saying don't fight, talk it out. Well, look at *them*." "What kind of influence is that on kids?" his companion chimes in.

This film, recommended by the National Education Association for fifth grade and up, also documents the Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which organized a letter-writing campaign asking Reagan to halt the arms race. The president refused to accept the children's letters, but the film shows kids reading their letters aloud in front of the White House.

Of the three films, *In the Nuclear Shadow: What Can The Children Tell Us?*, made in San Francisco's Bay Area by a former teacher, Vivienne Verdon-Roe, and Ian and Eric Thiermann (producer of *The Last Epidemic*), is the most didactic. It emphasizes that activism overcomes despair, and that children whose parents are involved in peace organizing feel the most sanguine about their future. The subjects seem almost too articulate to be spontaneous (although they were not prepped), probably because the filmmakers chose older children and those who had already discussed nuclear weapons in school. The film, which has won several awards, includes the reactions of 27 children, aged 6 to 18, as well as footage of Hiroshima and the thoughts of two psychiatrists, Robert Jay Lifton and John E. Mack.

A fast-paced collage of interviews with children, theatrical sketches, musical numbers, and animated sequences, *What Do Children Think Of When They Think Of The Bomb?*, is the result of a fruitful collaboration between Elizabeth Swados, the award-winning composer of musicals such as *Runaways*, and John Canemaker, who has made his own live and animated films (as well as the animated sequence in the film of *The World According to Garp*).

Swados directed the live sequences, using her own songs and scenes from a workshop she held for a group of young amateur singers, dancers, and athletes, some of whom she discovered on the street. Canemaker used kids' fantasies as the basis of the animated sequences, such as "The End of the World Amusement Park," whose attractions include Friday the 13th Fortune Teller, The Tunnel of Hell, and the Kill, Maim, Destroy Fun House. Another sequence uses old postcards of the Eiffel Tower, the New York skyline, and Stonehenge to describe what would happen after the missiles take off.

The filmmakers have aimed for humor rather than polemics. As one young actor says, "I can't die tomorrow–I have exams!" Adults and children will probably agree that Swados and Canemaker have produced the most attractive, imaginative film ever on a nuclear subject.

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*What Do Children Think Of. . . .*will be shown this winter or spring on the Public Broadcasting Service series *Matters of Life and Death. Bombs Will Make the Rainbow Break* is available, for $45 rental, plus $5 handling, from Films Inc., 8124 North Central Park, Skokie, Illinois 60076, and includes a discussion guide. *In the Nuclear Shadow* is available for $35 video rental, $50 film rental (plus $8 for a background packet) from Educational Film and Video Project, 1725 B Seabright Avenue, Santa Cruz, California 95062.

—Ann Marie Cunningham

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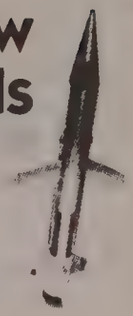
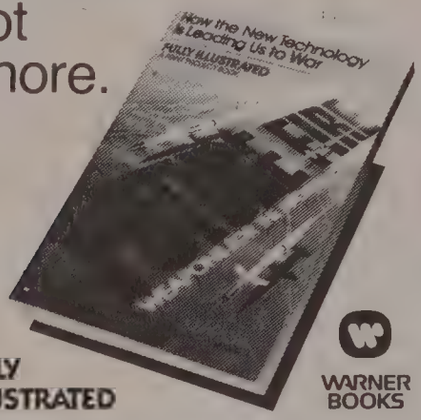


Here's a Book You Must Not Ignore.



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tant voters—college students—to the polls in November 1984.

Ariela Gross, the 17-year-old honors student who won national celebrity after handing over a freeze petition to President Reagan in June, is now spokeswoman for a new student voter registration project, SAVE Our Future (Students Allied for Voter Education for Our Future). According to Gross, people aged 18-24 constitute 20 percent of the country's voting population, and 17 million of them did not vote in 1980. "It's obvious that students are not taking a real part in the Democratic process," Gross says. "SAVE Our Future was formed to change that."

By next November, the group—which uses the slogan "To Stop Them From Pushing the Button *We* Have To Pull the Lever"—hopes to register at least 150,000 students. It will train organizers and coordinate the efforts of existing campus disarmament groups to register students at dining halls, post offices, and major campus events. The project will also send students into their communities to bring an additional 100,000 non-student unregistered voters to the polls.

As a nonpartisan organization, SAVE Our Future does not endorse candidates, but members will distribute freeze literature to students as they register. SAVE's Martin Hamburger points out that the material will present hard facts about the arms race. "Once these facts are read," Hamburger predicts, "we think that our pro-freeze position will be favored by a majority of students."

But Steve Baldwin, deputy director of the College Republican National Committee—one of 10 conservative student groups organized in coalition to register students who support Reagan's program of Peace Through Strength—disagrees. "We don't think there's any evidence that most students support the freeze," Baldwin says. "We think a lot of students are sitting on the fence waiting to be educated."

Rod Hastie is working on that. As youth coordinator for the National Conservative Political Action Committee, he is concentrating on countering SAVE Our Future's efforts by informing students about "the potential dangers of the nuclear freeze movement." This fall, his organization will be conducting seminars and debates on national security, focusing on the freeze.

And so the debate goes on. There is one point the two sides agree upon, though—that students will be a force to be reckoned with in 1984. "And for that," says SAVE's Martin Hamburger, "we should thank the freeze—whether we like it or not."

—Renata Rizzo

Instituting Peace Studies

In a way nuclear education is like aerobics. They are both becoming more popular, they both have new names, they both *seem* new, but really both are just updated versions of ideas that have been around a long time. With its "world order" programs in high schools and universities around the globe, the World Policy Institute was a strong advocate of nuclear education long before the term itself existed. "We helped lay the foundation," says Barbara Wien, the Institute's director of curriculum development.

In one form or another the Institute (which until recently was known as the Institute for World Order) has been pushing for a better world since the 1940s, and its institutional roots stretch back to the pre-World War I internationalist movements. But since 1962 the Institute, based in New York, and headed by Archibald Gillies, has been concentrating its efforts on education. Wien says that "when the Institute first began looking into alternative international studies programs it found only one course, and now there are more than 800 courses worldwide."

The Institute has both encouraged, and chronicled, the growth in the number of these courses, through its *Peace and World Order Studies—A Curriculum Guide* (soon to be in its fourth edition), which offers a select listing of course syllabi dealing with global problems from a humanist perspective. The Institute has also conducted extensive research worldwide and promoted public education on peace issues. This fall it plans to publish a new quarterly journal called *World Policy*, and it has just launched a two-year program, "Toward a New U.S. Security Policy," which will address the links between an escalating arms race and the deteriorating world economy.

—Douglas Lavin

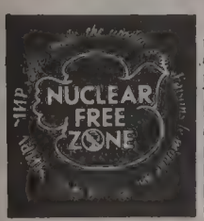
ILLUSTRATION BY ROBERT NEUBECKER

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD

PASS THE WORD

NUCLEAR TIMES announces its one- to two-minute daily radio broadcast on the antinuclear weapons movement. If you are in the New York metropolitan area, tune-in at approximately 3:40 PM, WMCA-57AM.

TO APERION, journal of pagan libertarians, $2; **BLUFF**, paper of left libertarians, $2; BADGES: Nuclear Power? Fuck Off!! Left Libertarians; Galactic Libertarians — All $1 each. Send cash only for any of the above to: *C.P. 95 STN PLACE D'Armes, Montreal, Que. H2Y 3E9, Canada.*



"This prohibits all development, testing, transportation, deployment, and usage of nuclear weapons within these borders."
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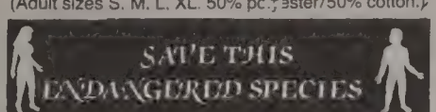

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BE ALL YOU CAN BE. WORK FOR PEACE.

C. (Parody of Army-recruitment slogan) White on Forest Green (bumpersticker).
D. T-Shirt, Forest Green or Kelly.

José Kañusee, Box 11444
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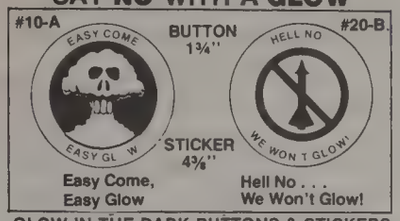

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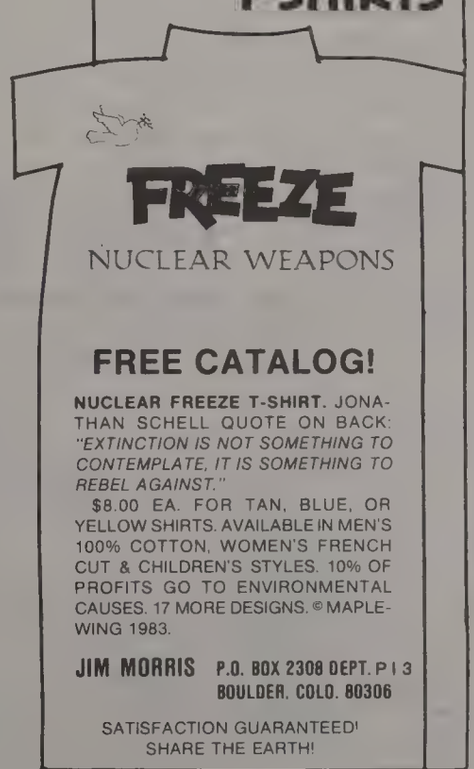

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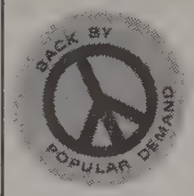
"NO NUKES IS GOOD NUKES" says this timely white on blue vinyl bumpersticker. $2 each; three for $5. *FlorGraphics, 4816 West 62 Street, Minneapolis, MN 55424.*



T-shirts	**$7.50**
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Send to: Peaceworks Dept. N7
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Please allow up to six weeks for delivery. Thank you!

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(212) 677-6602

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES

NUCLEAR WAR COURSES: Summaries of 60 university syllabi, $1.50. Also, *What About the Russians?*, 54-page booklet by Sanford Gottlieb, tough-minded look at Soviets and how to live on the same planet, $2.50. *UCAM, Suite 1101, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036.*

AFSC ROCKY FLATS/CONVERSION PROJECT has most extensive resources in Rocky Mountain area: films, slideshows, books, reprints, speakers. Write or call us for resource catalogue: *1660 Lafayette, Denver, CO 80218, (303) 832-4508.* Audiovisuals include: "Last Epidemic," "War Without Winners," "Gods of Metal," "No Frames, No Boundaries." Also key books and reprints on wide range of defense, military, disarmament, nuclear issues.

"IT'S OUR FUTURE: STOP NUCLEAR WAR" is an 18-minute, color slide/tape show about high school students and teachers working to make the world safe for this and future generations. It features young people who describe their concern about nuclear weapons and tell how becoming educated and active has given them hope. Sale $55; Rental $20 postpaid. Produced by: the Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War, Box 232, Northfield, MA 01360. See our ad page 23

INTERNSHIPS

Nuclear Times is now accepting applications for spring internships beginning January 1984. The program is a full-time apprenticeship in both editorial and business aspects of magazine publishing. Send resume and cover letter to *Corinna Gardner, Managing Editor, Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001.*

BULLETIN BOARD

GOOD READING

WINTER, an allegory by Edwin Ritchie: This unique and angry view of the arms race likens contenders to paranoid juveniles. It will brace you at the barricades. Hardcover, Roman type, $6.25 ppd., *CENTRALIA PRESS, PO Box 607, Floral Park, NY 11002.*

THE PEOPLE: Labor/socialist biweekly covering major national, international developments at rates workers can afford. Since 1891. Subscriptions: $1/4 months, $4/1 year. Includes free pamphlets on militarism/arms control. *Dept. NT, 914 Industrial Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94303.*

WRITERS FOR PEACE Newsletter (sample $1), TOMORROW'S WORLD, A Book of Peace, by Armin D. Lehmann, the perfect gift to promote world peace ($5.50 postpaid), PEACE TALKS by Armin D. Lehmann (transcripts $2.37 each), FROM A PEACEMAKER'S NOTEBOOK ($1.20), *WRITERS FOR PEACE, PO Box 110, Yachats, OR 97498.*

ISRAEL IN LEBANON

How has the press covered Israel's war in Lebanon? Three press collections of carefully selected articles on Israeli objectives, conditions under occupation and U.S. policy are now available. Separated into *The Invasion, The Beirut Massacre* and *The Occupation,* these books contain the most significant press coverage drawn from over 100 publications in the U.S., England and the Mideast. Essential resource for those concerned with the situation in Lebanon.

Send $10.00 each plus postage (U.S., Canada $1.00 third class, $2.50 first class; abroad $7.50 per book) to

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Dept. B,
160 Claremont Ave.,
NYC 10027.

The Arms Race and the Paper Chase.

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There *is* a solution: the new Subscription Service of the Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race. Subscribers receive bi-monthly packets: "must-read" articles, action ideas, the latest word on new resources; all collated in a three-ring binder for easy use.

Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, 132 N. Euclid Ave., Pasadena, CA 91101 (213) 449-9430.

CATALOGS

PEACE AND CONFLICT FILM AND VIDEO CATALOG. Free, write *Michigan Media, University of Michigan, 400 Fourth Street, Dept. P, Ann Arbor, MI 48109.*

THE WHOLE FREEZE CATALOG. Books, periodicals, bumperstickers, buttons, T-shirts, films, slide shows, tapes, records and many more resources for building the Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Nationwide listings. Order today from: *Citizen Action for Lasting Security, Dept. NT, PO Box 12763, Salem, OR 97309.* $3 postpaid.

FREE BOOK CATALOG:
Social change, feminism, men's consciousness-raising, gay. *Times Change Press, Albion-N, CA 95410.*

ASSOCIATIONS

Bertrand Russell Society, Information: NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036

ACTION

What is Earth's future? Increase of economic and human misery, crime? Uncaring, compassionless, negative society, no chance for the little guy, machines controlling people? Spiritual/practical concept can replace above nightmare with beautiful dream. But only your active help can make it a reality! *HOPE, PO Box 134, Station S, Toronto, Canada.*

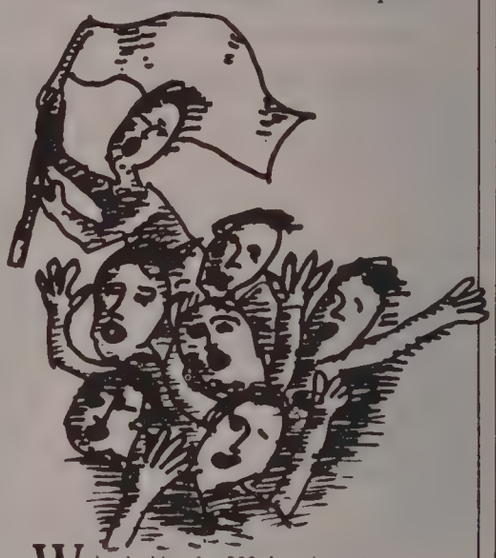
PEOPLE WHO WANT PEACE MUST TAKE CHARGE OF WORLD AFFAIRS! How? Very briefly: 1) ratify world legislation to outlaw the design, testing, production, deployment of nuclear weapons, and establish a World Disarmament Agency directed by ratifiers; 2) each ratifier (community, group, parliament, individual, university) becomes a Nuclear Free Zone; 3) support emergence of World Parliament elected by people, organized under non-military Constitutions for Federation of Earth; 4) support District World Court Action to require nuclear disarmament, now underway in Los Angeles with injunction suit against 28 nations. Send $3 for information package and working materials to *WCPA, 1480 Hoyt Street, Rm. 31, Lakewood, CO 80215 (303) 233-3548.*

ACTION

Activists, Lawyers, Economists: Learn how the Consumer Price Index is distorted to understate inflation and keep cost-of-living adjustments down. For FREE information send large self-addressed, stamped envelope to: *Mereski, Box 15268 NT, Savannah, GA 31416.* Offer good through Election Day, November 6, 1984. Why isn't your union/group pushing this?

Stop American Missiles Abroad!

Protest the deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Europe



We're looking for 300 Americans to go to London with Bread & Puppet Theater to participate in International Disarmament Week. The group will leave from Boston on Oct. 15 and return Oct. 24. Flight costs $433 round-trip. Contributions are encouraged to sponsor the trip for others. For more information write Bread & Puppet Theater Support Group. P.O. Box 1313, Montpelier, Vermont 05602.

GAMES

Peace Games of Co-operation. All kinds. All ages. Illustrated catalog, 25¢. *Family Pastimes (NU), RR4, Perth, Ontario, Canada K7H3C6*

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9–10 insertions: 50¢ per word, $12 per column inch

Closing for the next issue: September 30
Mail to: *Community Bulletin Board, Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, Room 512, New York, NY 10001.*

•CALENDAR•

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

FIRST ANNUAL FREEZE WALK

On October 1, in almost every state, people will be walking to raise funds for the national and local freeze campaigns. To participate, contact your local freeze office or the Clearinghouse of the National Freeze Campaign, 4144 Lindell Blvd, Ste 404, St. Louis, MO 63108 (314) 533-1169.

PEACEDAY

On Sunday, October 2, Peace Links is sponsoring its second annual Peaceday celebration, a national event with activities ranging from art displays to picnics to parades. For more information, contact Peace Links, 600 New Hampshire Av NW, Ste 1000, Washington, DC 20037 (202) 965-3410.

LET THEM EAT CAKE

The First National Let Them Eat Cake Sale is taking place in over 100 communities across the country on October 3. A primary purpose of the event is to raise funds for local groups that are suffering from deep cutbacks in federal aid due to military spending and Reaganomics. If you would like to help organize a cake sale in your community, or want more information, *contact:* Let Them Eat Cake, 918 F St NW, Ste 611, Washington, DC 20004 (202) 347-6060.

ANTINUCLEAR ART IN NEW YORK

Two art installations by **Joseph Nechvatal**—one in the lobby of 71 Broadway and the other in the lower arcade of 120 Broadway—will be on display through November 1. The two dioramas, collectively titled "Isle of Dread," address the issue of nuclear arms buildup. Viewing hours are Monday through Friday from 9 AM to 5 PM.

NATIONAL WEEK OF EDUCATION:

From November 5-12, ESR, STOP Nuclear War, UCAM, Physicians for Social Responsibility, the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control and the Union of Concerned Scientists will be cosponsoring events across the country focusing on both the risks posed by the accelerating arms race and new ways of thinking about national security. Local events may include workshops, debates, classroom projects, film festivals, art exhibits and theater performances. For information on the **Week of Education: The New Arms Race or New Ways of Thinking?** *contact:* Kathleen Gilroy, UCS, 26 Church St, Cambridge, MA 02238 (617) 547-5552.

NUCLEAR TIMES IS ON THE AIR

The New York metropolitan area can tune in to WMCA Radio (570 on the AM dial) every weekday at 3:35 PM for live reports on the antinuclear weapons movement phoned in from the NUCLEAR TIMES office in Manhattan. The news reports focus on the antinuclear movement in the New York region.

OCTOBER 1

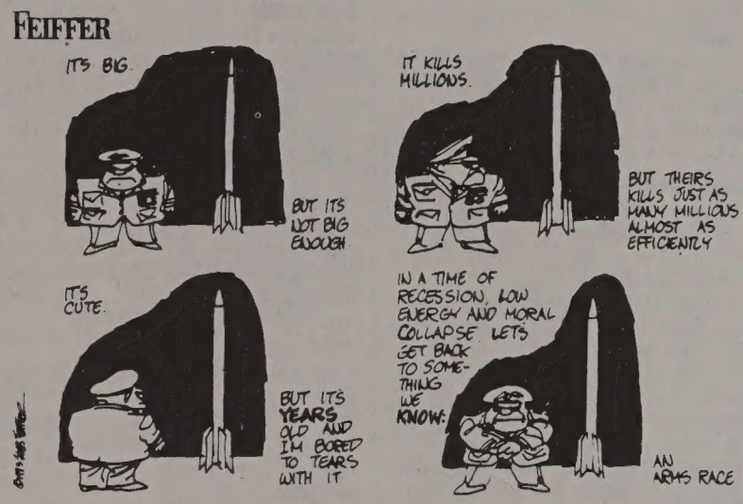
NEW YORK

• **New York** Conference, "Nuclear Arms and Peace: Educators Confronting the Issues," with workshops and an address by Dr. William Sloane Coffin. *Contact:* Mrs. Irma Kochenthal, The Association of Teachers in Independent Schools, 1230 Park Av, New York, NY 10128.

OCTOBER 2

CONNECTICUT

• **Groton** "A Call To Convert: From Trident to Trolleys," will include community picnic, music, and direct actions, through Oct. 3. *Contact:* Women of Faith, 73 Bushnell St, Hartford, CT 06114 (203) 246-0678 or 522-8424.


FEIFFER
IT'S BIG.
BUT IT'S NOT BIG ENOUGH
IT KILLS MILLIONS.
BUT THEIRS KILLS JUST AS MANY MILLIONS ALMOST AS EFFICIENTLY
IT'S CUTE.
BUT IT'S YEARS OLD AND I'M BORED TO TEARS WITH IT
IN A TIME OF RECESSION, LOW ENERGY AND MORAL COLLAPSE LETS GET BACK TO SOMETHING WE KNOW:
AN ARMS RACE

Jules Feiffer's work adorns official "Let Them Eat Cake" boxes

NEW YORK

• **New York** Conference, "Nicaragua and Central America: Time to Stop Reagan's War," with Seymour Hersh, Pat Hinds and others, through Oct. 3. *Contact:* The Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900 ext 262.

OCTOBER 5

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Conflict Resolution Course will demonstrate the application of new behavioral science techniques to the negotiation process, through Oct. 6. *Contact:* Leslie B. Forrest, Committee for National Security, 200 P St NW, Ste 515, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 833-3140.

• Dinner to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) and to honor W. Averell Harriman for his leadership of the LTBT negotiating team, with McGeorge Bundy. *Contact:* The Arms Control Association, 11 Dupont Circle NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 797-6450.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** Educational forum on making Cambridge a nuclear free zone, with Prof. Noam Chomsky of MIT. *Contact:* Mobilization for Survival, 727 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 354-0008.

OCTOBER 6

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** "October 6: A Demonstration of Faith and Conscience," a gathering of Americans and West Germans to oppose the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles and celebrate the 300th anniversary of the immigration of German pacifists to Pennsylvania. *Contact:* October 6 Witness, 2125 Chestnut St, Philadelphia, PA 19103 (215) 569-1974.

OCTOBER 7

CALIFORNIA

• **Stanford** Symposium, "Prescription for Prevention: Nuclear War—Our Greatest Health Hazard," with Erik Erikson, Dr. Helen Caldicott, and others; Stanford University, through Oct. 8. *Contact:* Physicians for Social Responsibility, (415) 497-9060.

OHIO

• **Cincinnati** Pax Christi National Assembly 1983, with Sr. Joan Chittister, Sargent Shriver, and others; Mt. St. Joseph's College, through Oct. 9. *Contact:* Pax Christi, 6337 W Cornelia St, Chicago, IL 60634 (312) 736-2113.

• **Cleveland** Ohio Women's Leadership Conference on National Security, with Dr. Helen Caldicott, Rep. Louis Stokes, and others, through Oct. 9. Contact: Beverly Quist (216) 391-6758.

OCTOBER 8

IOWA

• **Des Moines** Witness at the SAC Air Force Base; on Oct. 7, nonviolent training will be offered at the Des Moines Valley Friends Meeting House. *Contact:* The Iowa Peace Network, (515) 274-4851.

OCTOBER 10

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Film, "If You Love This Planet," followed by an address by Robert Cleland, executive director of NO-MOR (Nuclear Overkill Moratorium). *Contact:* The Jewish Community Centers of Hyde Park/Kenwood, 1100 E Hyde Park Blvd, Chicago, IL 60615 (312) 268-4600.

OCTOBER 12

VERMONT

• **Burlington** Daniel Berrigan will be speaking on peace at the University of Vermont. *Contact:* Ms. Roddy O'Neill Cleary, (802) 985-8063.

OCTOBER 14

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** The Third National Conference of the U.S. Peace Council will concentrate on building a multiracial peace movement; with Dr. Joseph Lowery and others, through Oct. 16. *Contact:* U.S. Peace Council, 7 E 15 St, Ste 408, New York, NY 10003 (212) 989-1194.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Workshops with David Dellinger on revolutionary nonviolence in preparation for an Oct 24 CD action at Honeywell Corporate Headquarters, through October 16. *Contact:* The Honeywell Project, 3255 Hennepin Av S, Rm 101, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5362 ext 24.

OCTOBER 15

COLORADO

• **Golden** Encirclement of the 17-mile perimeter of the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant. *Contact:* AFSC, 1660 Lafayette St, Denver, CO 80218 (303) 832-4508.

NEW JERSEY

• **South Orange** Conference, "Will Our Children Survive the Nuclear Arms Race?"; South Orange Middle School. *Contact:* James Foster, Department of Preventive Medicine, UMONJ–New Jersey Medical School, 100 Bergen Street, Newark, NJ 07103 (201) 456-4528.

OKLAHOMA

• **Oklahoma City** Statewide peace event, "Peace Awareness Day . . . A Gathering of Hope," including workshops, music and more, with Dr. Helen Caldicott and Rev. Timothy McDonald; First Presbyterian Church, 1001 NW 25 St, Oklahoma City. *Contact:* Oklahoma Peace Strategy, PO Box 54874, Oklahoma City, OK 73154 (405) 528-5364.

WEST VIRGINIA

• **Morgantown** Public forum on World Peace, with 20 films, including *Gandhi*, and speakers including David Dellinger, Michael Klare and others; West Virginia University, through Oct. 21. *Contact:* Jerry Starr, Department of Sociology, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV 26506 (412) 341-8694 or (304) 293-5801.

WISCONSIN

• **Madison** Symposium, "The Medical Consequences of Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War," with John Kenneth Galbraith, Jerome Frank and others; Memorial Union Theater, Madison. *Contact:* Physicians for Social Responsibility, PO Box 1712, Madison, WI 53701 (608) 256-8241.

OCTOBER 21

TEXAS

• **Austin** Peace Convocation, "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response," with Dr. William Sloane Coffin and others; University United Methodist Church, 1201 Lavaca, Aus-

ILLUSTRATION BY JULES FEIFFER

tin. *Contact:* The Texas Conference of Churches, 2704 Rio Grande #9, Austin, TX 78705 (512) 478-7491.

OCTOBER 22

NEW YORK

• **New York** Conference, "Nuclear Realities: From Victim to Activist," will address the political, economic and psychological aspects of victimization by past and current governmental nuclear policies; workshops, panels and speakers including Janet Gordon, Rep. Ted Weiss and others; Junior-Intermediate School 191, 210 W 61 St, New York, NY. *Contact:* National Institute for Psychotherapies, 330 W 58 St, Ste 200, New York, NY 10019 (212) 582-1566.

OCTOBER 23

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Annual Women for Peace Dinner with Dr. Linus Pauling; Unitarian Church of Evanston. *Contact:* Women for Peace, 343 S Dearborn St, Rm 705, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 663-1227.

OCTOBER 24

NEW YORK

• **New York** "Musicians Against Nuclear Arms—IN CONCERT," featuring Zubin Mehta, Daniel Barenboim, Itzhak Perlman and Jessye Norman with speakers Dr. Helen Caldicott and George F. Kennan. Paul Newman will host the evening; Avery Fisher Hall, New York, NY. *Contact:* IN CONCERT, 1995 Broadway, Ste 1700, New York, NY 10023 (212) 874-4098.

• **NEW YORK** First annual Olive Branch awards for the best magazine coverage of nuclear freeze and disarmament issues 1982-1983, with Jules Feiffer and Colleen Dewhurst; Essex House Hotel. Sponsored by the Editor's Organizing Committee and the Writers and Publishers Alliance for Disarmament. *Contact:* Nuclear Times Magazine, (212) 563-5940.

EUROMISSILE DEMONSTRATIONS: OCTOBER 21-24

Peace and disarmament groups around the world will be holding demonstrations this month to protest the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe. The following events are only a small sample of what will take place. The American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia (215-241-7000) has opened a national clearinghouse for information about Euromissile protests; please contact them, or local peace organizations, for more information about Euromissile protests in your area.

CALIFORNIA

• **El Segundo** Parade for Peace, Oct. 22. *Contact:* The Southern California Alliance for Survival (213) 388-1824 or the Orange County Alliance for Survival (714) 997-9922.

• **San Francisco** Rally and march at the Civic Center, Oct. 22. *Contact:* The Disarmament Resource Center, (415) 495-0526.

CONNECTICUT

• **Hartford** Demonstrations, Oct. 22. Contact: Peter Wells, 30 Arbor St, Hartford, CT 06106 (203) 236-1295.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

A coalition of groups from Virginia, Maryland and the District of Columbia is organizing a regional march and rally, culminating in an encirclement of the White House, on Oct. 22. *Contact:* The Washington Peace Center, 2111 Florida Av NW, Washington, DC 20008 (202) 234-2000 or Roger Coffey, Fellowship of Reconciliation, PO Box 27701, Richmond, VA 23261 (804) 358-5306.

FLORIDA

• **Orlando** Southern Regional Demonstration to "Halt the Pershing At Its Source." On Oct. 21, there will be a candlelight vigil at the Martin Marietta Aerospace plant, where Pershing 2 missiles are manufactured. On Oct. 22, a march and rally are planned in downtown Orlando; speakers will include Philip Berrigan. And on Oct. 23, a second vigil at the Martin Marietta plant will be held. *Contact:* The Central Florida Nuclear Freeze Campaign, PO Box 2442, Winter Park, FL 32790 (305) 422-3479.

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** "European War Games: The Last World Series?" Demonstrations to be held outside of congressional offices, using a life-size replica of a cruise missile, to be followed by afternoon demonstrations at location TBA, Oct. 22. *Contact:* The Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 S State St, Rm 1300, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 922-2423 and Help End The Arms Race Association, 343 S Dearborn St, Rm 705, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 663-1227.

KANSAS

Demonstrations combined with freeze walks in Wichita, Manhattan and Topeka, Oct. 22 or 23. *Contact:* Brian Findley, Kansans to Freeze the Arms Race (316) 221-9139.

MASSACHUSETTS

Regional actions will begin on Oct. 21 when, all over New England, activists will meet with congressional leaders to lobby against Euromissile deployment. On Oct. 23, a march beginning at Draper Labs in Cambridge will culminate in a rally on the Boston Common. On Oct. 24, there will be a nonviolent CD action at the AVCO plant in Wilmington, where parts of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles are manufactured. *Contact:* Judy Freiwirth, The Campaign to Stop the Euromissiles, 2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 492-6446.

MAINE

A statewide event will be held on Oct. 22; location TBA. *Contact:* The Maine Freeze Campaign (207) 772-0680.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Major nonviolent CD action at the Honeywell Corporate Headquarters, Oct. 24. *Contact:* The Honeywell Project, 3255 Hennepin Av S, Rm 101, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5362 ext 24.

MISSOURI

• **St. Louis** March and rally through downtown St. Louis, Oct. 23. *Contact:* American Friends Service Committee, 438 N Skinker Blvd, St. Louis, MO 63130 (314) 862-5770.

NEBRASKA

• **Omaha** Freeze rally and walk, Central Park Mall, Oct. 23. *Contact:* Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 1715 Izard St, Omaha, NE 68102 (402) 341-4427.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Manchester and Portsmouth** A legal demonstration and street theater will take place on Oct. 21 at the headquarters of the Public Service Company of New Hampshire, the lead builder of the Seabrook nuclear project. On Oct. 22, a nonviolent CD action is planned for the Peace Air Force Base in Portsmouth. Nonviolence training required for the CD action. *Contact:* Action for a Nuclear Free Future, PO Box 1415, Portsmouth, NH 03801 (603) 431-5942.

NEW YORK

• **Romulus** The Seneca Army Depot will be the site of a three-day northeastern regional action. On Oct. 22, a legal march and rally will take place at the Depot. Nonviolent CD training will be offered on Oct. 23 in preparation for a major CD action at the Depot on Oct. 24. *Contact:* UPSTATE: Jim Moran, Seneca Depot October Action Coalition, PO Box 949, Geneva, NY 14456 (716) 243-4002. DOWNSTATE: Debby Chaplan, SDOAC, 135 W. 4 St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 673-1808.

NORTH CAROLINA

• **Raleigh** Statewide rally, beginning with march from the state legislature building, Oct. 22. *Contact:* The North Carolina Peace Network (919) 467-6026.

OREGON

• **Portland** Euromissile rally at the Waterfront Park, Oct. 22. *Contact:* Margot Beutler, c/o Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon, 0245 SW Bancroft, Portland, OR 97201 (503) 221-1054.

SOUTH CAROLINA

• **Aiken** A coalition of groups is putting together a four-day event centering around the Savannah River Plant (SRP), where all the weapons-grade plutonium for the nation's nuclear arms industry is manufactured. On Oct. 21, the Athens, Georgia, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will open a women's peace camp outside of the SRP. A general rally for both men and women will be held on Oct. 22. Civil disobedience training will be offered on Oct. 23 in preparation for a blockade of all five entrances to the SRP on Oct. 24. A legal demonstration is also planned for the 24th. *Contact:* Athens WILPF, Ga. Univ. Station, Box 2358, Athens, GA 30601-0358 or Southeastern Natural Guard (803) 254-9398.

TEXAS

• **Austin** A major "Stop the Missiles" campaign is being planned, featuring educational presentations, cultural events, and political activities, culminating in a statewide march and rally on Oct. 22. *Contact:* The Austin Peace and Justice Coalition, 1022 W. 6 St, Austin, TX 78703 (512) 474-5877.

WASHINGTON

• **Olympia** Demonstration, "Stop the Cruise! Speak for Survival," Oct. 22. *Contact:* Clark Chambers, Star Route, Hunters, WA 99137 (509) 722-3443.

WEST VIRGINIA

• **Morgantown** Citywide demonstrations, Oct. 22. *Contact:* Stuart Fisk, Department of Sociology, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV 26506 (304) 292-4374.

OCTOBER 25

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Talk, "National Deficits and Military Spending," with Robert Schauss. *Contact:* Business Executives Move, 176 W Adams St, Chicago, IL 60603 (312) 726-4020.

OCTOBER 26

ARIZONA

• **Tucson** Second Annual Peace Fair, with films, slide shows, music and more; Reid Park. *Contact:* Sally Manshardt, 4332 E La Cieneda, Tucson, AZ 85712 (602) 327-8455.

OCTOBER 27

ONTARIO, CANADA

• **Guelph** International conference, "Strategies for Peace and Security in a Nuclear Age," with speakers from Canada, the United States, the Soviet Union and more, through Oct. 30. *Contact:* Peace and Security Conference, Division of Continuing Education, University of Guelph, Guelph, ONT N1G 2W1 (519) 824-4120 ext. 3956.

OCTOBER 29

MISSOURI

• **St. Louis** Symposium, "Medical Aspects of Nuclear War: Prescription for Prevention," with Drs. Helen Caldicott, Jack Geiger and more. *Contact:* Office of Continuing Medical Education, Washington University School of Medicine, PO Box 8063, 660 South Euclid, St. Louis, MO 63110 (314) 362-6893.

OCTOBER 31

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Conference, "The World After Nuclear War," on the long-term worldwide biological consequences of nuclear war, with Dr. Carl Sagan, Paul Ehrlich, and more; The Sheraton Washington, Washington, DC, through Nov. 1. *Contact:* Chaplin B. Barnes, The World After Nuclear War Conference, 1735 New York Av NW, Ste 400, Washington, DC 20006 (202) 638-6511.

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Conference, "A Search for Solutions: US-USSR," with Zbigniew Brzezinski, Sen. Charles Percy and others. *Contact:* US-USSR Conference, International House, University of Chicago, 1414 E 59 St, Chicago, IL 60637.

Thanks to everyone who mailed us Calendar information. The deadline for submitting November events is September 30.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo with Laurie Goldman and David Kallick.

ILLUSTRATION BY EJE WRAY

•RESOURCES•

EUROMISSILES

Missile Packet ($4 plus $1 postage from the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign National Clearinghouse, 4144 Lindell Boulevard, Suite 404, St. Louis, MO 63108, 314-533-1169). Background material on the cruise and Pershing 2 deployment, plus local organizers' ideas for the freeze's national Euromissile campaign, scheduled for October 21-24. Also, **Euroshima** ($2.50 plus 20¢ postage from Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, Suite 2109, New York, NY 10003). This organizers' guide will help American activists plan local campaigns in conjunction with European protests.

ORGANIZATIONS

Student Network for Nuclear Disarmament (care of Brown Disarmament Group, PO Box 1930, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912, 401-274-3467). A national network of college students that fosters campus participation in the peace movement. The network publishes a bimonthly newsletter, **Press for Peace**, that reports on effective campus organizing, and discusses issues such as peaceful career options for science students, and university investments in weapons manufacturing.

Interhelp (330 Ellis Street, Room 505, San Francisco, CA 94102). Joanna Rogers Macy founded this national network of educators, psychologists, and counselors who share ideas about how to help people overcome despair and inertia, and "empower" themselves to counter the nuclear threat.

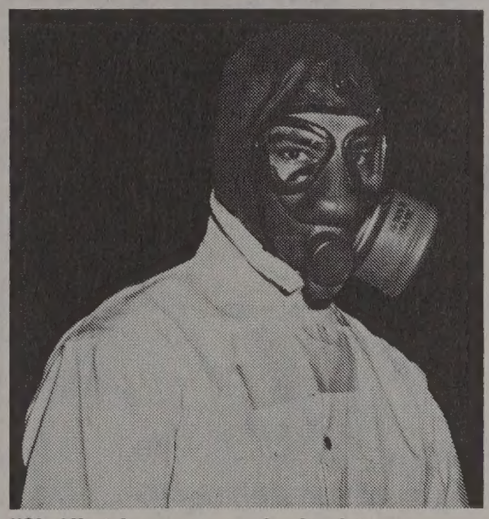
BOOKS

Radiation and Human Health, by John W. Gofman, M. D. (Pantheon paper, $12.95). An updated, abridged paperback version of the 1981 survey, that analyzes the latest data from every valid study of the effects of low-level radiation. Gofman, who isolated plutonium for the Manhattan Project, co-authored one of the pioneering studies on the harmful effects of low-level radiation and has continued his research for the last 40 years.

The Aftermath: The Human and Ecological Consequences of Nuclear War, by *Ambio* magazine, introduction by Alva Myrdal (Pantheon, $7.95 paper). The magazine of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences invited Western and Eastern-bloc scientists to participate in this study, the most detailed to date, of the possible global effects of a nuclear World War III. The scenario, which assumes that less than half of the superpowers' nuclear weapons are fired, includes 750 million immediate deaths, 340 million seriously injured survivors, and so much poisoning of water, air, and soil that an even larger number of people in the Third World would die than were killed in the war itself.

FILM

SL-1 (60 minutes, color video or 16 mm, rental information from Direct Cinema Limited, PO Box 69589, Los Angeles, CA 90069. 213-656-4700) will open in Los Angeles at the end of October. A cinematic recreation—employing real-life interviews, government film footage, and docudrama techniques—of a 1961 accident at a military nuclear reactor, known as SL-1, in Idaho. A depressed and upset worker appears to have sabotaged the plant, killing two other men and himself. Radioactive particles were scattered over the surrounding countryside, and several hundred people were exposed to radiation—in some cases, to massive doses.



"SL-1" strips away mask of safety

BY, FOR AND ABOUT KIDS

A Chance to Live: Children's Poems for Peace in a Nuclear Age, edited by Gayle Peterson and Ying Kelley ($4.95 paper, Mindbody Press). A year ago Berkeley school children presented 2500 folded paper cranes, a Japanese symbol of peace, to their city council. They went on to compose these poems about peace (a seventh grader: "I like living—For a long time"); the fear and despair evoked by the prospect of nuclear war (a sixth grader: "The red of embers and the blood/of the people that didn't burn"); calls to action (an eighth grader: "In other words, change presidents/And do it quickly").

The Little Black Book of Atomic War, by Marc Ian Barasch ($3.95 paper, Dell). An abbreviated, sardonic history of the Atomic Age that will appeal to teenagers. The author illustrates the hubris that has accompanied the development and use of nuclear power and weapons with outrageous quotes, capsule biographies, and examples such as a real-life plan for a nuclear attack against Mt. Everest (to turn it into a giant lever that could change the earth's axis and place the North Pole in Moscow).

Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age, by Joanna Rogers Macy ($8.95 paper, New Society Publishers, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143). Macy, a psychologist who has worked with thousands of individuals and groups over the past four years, outlines a series of exercises and meditations to explore our psychological responses to nuclear peril, and to inspire activism and social change. Many teachers have found her suggestions useful in the classroom.

The Disarmament Coloring Book ($1.25 plus 50¢ postage from Women Strike for Peace, 201 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002, 202-543-2660). A classic, first published in 1965 and condemned by a local school board as anti-administration propaganda. Illustrates and describes simply the history of the peace movement, from 1965 to 1982.

What About the Children? ($1 from Parents and Teachers for Social Responsibility, Inc., PO Box 517, Moretown, VT 05660). Outlines the history of the nuclear threat, and proposes various projects to engage teachers, parents and children in grass-roots activism.

The Nuclear Arms Race Poster ($6.50 from Social Graphics, 1120 Riverside Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21230). A glossy, multicolor, 37″ × 24″ pictorial history of the Atomic Age suitable for the classroom wall. The poster depicts the number of strategic warheads, the probable targets, and the likely numbers of casualties in both the United States and the Soviet Union. Also suggests alternative ways of spending the defense budget. An accompanying "Primer on the Arms Race" is $2.50.

A Children's Defense Budget ($10 from Children's Defense Fund, 122 C Street NW, Washington, DC 20001, 202-628-8787). Analysis of Reagan's 1984 budget and its effect on child care, education, maternal and child health, food stamps, youth employment, and many other programs. Another good analysis is **Guide to the Military Budget 1984** (15¢ from SANE, 711 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003).

The Children's Advocate (75¢ per issue, $6 subscription from Berkeley Children's Services, 1017 University Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94710). This publication about children and social change put out a June 1983 special issue on the peace movement and its implications for children.

—Ann Marie Cunningham

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The Nuclear Arms Race Escalates In Your Home

Finally, you can hang on your wall the widely-acclaimed Nuclear Arms Race poster (partially pictured above) by Social Graphics Co., which depicts the destructive human and economic potential of the nuclear arms race—a pictorial history of our nuclear times and its overlooked alternatives.

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JOSEPH MCLELLAN
WASHINGTON POST

". . . everything you have always wanted to forget about the nuclear arms race. Brilliantly done up . . . the poster totes up the arms on both sides and concludes that we can destroy one another by hardly trying, whenever someone decides to push the button."

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